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MDCCCLIX.

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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
ISLE OF MAN,

ITS

INHABITANTS, LANGUAGE, SOIL, REMARKABLE CURIOSITIES, THE
SUCCESSION OF ITS KINGS AND BISHOPS, DOWN TO THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: BY WAY OF ESSAY.

WITH A VOYAGE TO I-COLUMB-KILL.

BY WILLIAM SACHEVERELL, Esq.,
LATE GOVERNOR OF MAN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A DISSERTATION ABOUT THE MONA OF CÆSAR AND TACITUS,
AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT DRUIDS, ETC.

BY MR. THOMAS BROWN.

ADDRESSED IN A LETTER TO HIS LEARNED FRIEND MR. A. SELLERS.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTICE AND COPIOUS NOTES, BY THE
REV. J. G. CUMMING, M.A., F.G.S.,

WARDEN AND PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE IN QUEEN'S COLLEGE,
BIRMINGHAM, LATE VICE-PRINCIPAL OF KING WILLIAM'S
COLLEGE, ISLE OF MAN.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN:
PRINTED FOR THE MANX SOCIETY.
MDCCCLIX.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IN selecting "SACHEVERELL'S ACCOUNT OF THE ISLE OF MAN" as one of the works of the first year's issue of the Manx Society, the Council has been influenced mainly by the consideration that the work itself is extremely scarce; that it is full of interest to the general as well as local reader; and that it furnishes an opportunity of pointing out, by means of the references in the Notes which I have appended to it, the extensiveness of that series of documents connected with the history of this little Island, which it is the purpose of the Society, in due course, to lay before the public.

In undertaking the task with which the Council has honored me, of editing this work, I have felt glad of the occasion presented to me for correcting, in the notes, some of the conclusions at which I had previously arrived, respecting one perplexing portion of Manx history—viz., that of the fourteenth century. Many of those ancient records, which are now for the first time, by means of the Manx Society, being brought into public notice, had not met my eye at the time when I drew up the Memoirs on the Civil and Ecclesiastical History the Geology, and Antiquities of the Isle, which I have at various times ventured to send to the press. I have thus too often been

obliged to take upon trust the statements of the different authors who have written upon the same subject, including Camden, Chalonier, and Sacheverell. I hope it will be seen that in the notes attached to this volume I have been enabled to arrive at more accurate information, and to place the obscure points of Manx history in a more satisfactory position.

My first inquiry, when entering upon the duty assigned to me by the Society, naturally was as to the personal history of the author of this work; and here I was met at once with the difficulty of determining the identity of the William Sacheverell, the Governor of the Isle of Man in 1693-4, with a William Sacheverell of Barton, whose genealogy I have given in one portion of this work. In my first note I have given some account of this branch of the Sacheverell family, and my reasons for believing that our author was a younger half-brother of the Robert Sacheverell, of Barton, to whom the book is dedicated.

Amongst the Norris papers preserved in the Town Hall, Liverpool, in the chests originally kept at Speke, along with letters of our author, are several documents pertaining to William Garway, who is mentioned by Thos. Heywood, Esq. (the editor of those papers), as having represented either Arundel or Chichester from 1660 to 1689. It is stated in a note to the Oxford edition of Burnet, written by Speaker Onslow, that Sacheverell (of Barton) and Garway were the Tory leaders of the House of Commons. Presuming the connection of the Governor of the Isle of Man with the Barton family, we can easily understand how the Garway papers became mixed with his; but hardly otherwise. The two volumes containing the Sacheverell letters are at this present time missing.

When the Sitwell (Renishaw) library was sold some little time back, I am informed by Mr. Heywood that there were several books therein bearing on their fly-leaves the name of Alicia Sitwell, the wife of William Sacheverell, of Barton. On one of them, a tract written by C. Ellis, on Christianity in Short, &c., was noticed the following writing :—“ E. libris Wilmi. Sacheverell, ex dono charissimi fratris Francisei Sitwell, Anno Domini 1708.” On referring to the genealogical table given in this work, it will be noticed that Franeis Sitwell, of Renishaw, was the brother of Alicia Sitwell, wife of the William Sacheverell, of Barton, presumed to be our author.

I transmitted through Mr. Thomas Heywood to James Crossley, Esq., of Manchester, a tracing from the autograph signature of William Sacheverell, in the Rolls Office, Isle of Man. On comparing this with the writing of William Sacheverell, of Barton, on the fly-leaf of a volume of sermons from the Sitwell library, he pronounces that the writing appears the same, and that there can be no ground for doubting that the Governor of the Isle of Man was connected with the Sitwell family. I think, therefore, that his identity with William Sacheverell, of Barton, half-brother of Robert, is well established.

In the same library was an extensive collection of tracts relating to the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverell, whose connection with the Barton family I have pointed out in the genealogical table appended to this volume.

My friend, J. Burman, Esq., Advocate, and Secretary to the present Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, informs me that, on searching the records in the Rolls Office, he finds that on May 9th, 1692, William Sacheverell, our author, was sworn Deputy-

Governor; that on the 8th June, 1693, he took the oaths as Governor; and on the 15th October, 1696, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Revenue. At this latter date Colonel Nicholas Sankey was Governor, to whom immediately succeeded the Hon. Capt. Cranston.

Presuming the identity established, and that the Governor of the Isle of Man was the son of William Sacheverell, Esq., of Barton, near Nottingham (M.P., and Minister of William III.), by his second wife, Jane Newton, daughter of Sir John Newton, Bart., we are struck with the fact of the very early age at which he was called on to exercise his responsible functions in the Isle of Man.

His father's first wife did not die till 1664, so that he, the son of the second wife, could hardly be more than 27 or 28 in the year 1692, when he entered upon his office as Deputy-Governor.

That he had for some time previously been connected with the Isle of Man, appears from his "Voyage to I-Columb-Kill," which is printed at the end of this work, and which is dated "Isle of Man, Sept. 7th, 1688,"—a year which at once connects us with that William III. whose Minister his father was, and who was all but shipwrecked on the Bahama Bank, off the northern shore of the Isle of Man, on his way to the famous battle of the Boyne.

Our author kept up a very familiar correspondence with Richard Norris, a younger scion of the House of Speke, near Liverpool, a good old Lancashire family, now extinct. The two following letters, addressed by him from the Isle of Man to Richard Norris, are of some interest. They have been published by the Chetham Society amongst the Norris papers, edited by Thomas Heywood, Esq.

"To Mr. Rd. Norrys, at Mr. Poole's, L'pool.

"I think myself extremely obliged to you for your kind letter, and especially that you are not forgetfull of me in my absence; and assure you, could I thinke myselfe any way servicable to you in this place, I should gladly receive the least of your commaunds.

"As to your question, What success I have had? I can at present answer very little; the necessary business of keeping courts, and acquainting myself with the nature of the government, has hitherto so imployed my time, I have searee had leisure to think of any improvement.

"On Midsummer-day I held the Tynwald Court, which is our Parliament, when I passed two Acts—one for setting up a linen manufacture, another for regulating moneys; which last will be thus for advantage to straingers, that it will be worth six per cent. to any man who buys the commodities of the country, to pay for them in new money. I would now begin some proposals for foreign trade, but was first in hopes to have received Mr. Poole's thoughts upon it, of which I desire you to put him in mind.

"I please myself in your promise of seeing you beare, and in the meantime assure you, according to the best of my capacity, that you shall always find me, &c.,

"Castlo Rushen, Julii 4, 1692.

"WILL. SACHEVERELL.

"P.S.—I have ordered Billy to bring you some lobsters and a dozen bottles of Manks ale. My servico to all my acquaintance, especially Jos. Wilkies."

We are interested in observing that Manx ale (jough) and lobsters were as notable in that day as they are now, and that the ceremony of Tynwald-hill has belonged to the Feast of St. John the Baptist at any rate for the last 200 years. The second letter has reference to his being deprived of the office of Governor, which can hardly have been from want of confidence in his integrity, otherwise the Earl of Derby would not immediately have appointed him a Commissioner of Revenue. It might be the result of some family intrigue, or the apparent desirableness of having a military man rather than a civilian at the head of affairs at this particuliar time.

"To Mr. Richard Norrys, Liverpool.

"Dear Mr. Norrys,—I am extremely obliged to you for your great care and trouble in assisting my wifo in her passage hither, which as it was a great comfort to me, so I doubt will be very sbort, for I hear that I am out of imployment, after all my care and diligence. All I can say is, I have served an unthankfull man, and I doubt it will turn very much to my prejudis; but, God's will be done. I cannot yet leave the Island myself, but would havo her goo for England; but sho resolves to stay a winter with me.

"I desire my service to your brother, when you see him. Pray remember me to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Holt, and believe me, &c.,

"WM. SACHEVERELL.

"Castle Rushen, 15 Aug., 1694."

The Richard Norris to whom these letters were written was Bailiff of Liverpool in 1695, Mayor in 1700, and represented the borough from 1708 to 1710; was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1718, and was living in 1730. At the time when Sacheverell was Governor of the Isle of Man he was learning to be a merchant in the office of David Poole, and was aged about 22.

The familiarity existing between him and Governor Sacheverell affords some evidence that there could not be any great disparity in their years, and that therefore Sacheverell himself, when Governor of the Isle of Man, was but young; and thus there is removed the difficulty which would at first sight present itself in endeavouring to identify our author with William Sacheverell, of Barton; in fact, it strongly confirms the identification.

The deplorable poverty of the Manx Church seems deeply to have affected our author. In the letter introductory to Bishop Wilson (page 80 of this work) he says "this Church has been sinking into a heap of ruins," and he expresses the hope that the good bishop is "designed by Providence to rebuild and beautify it, and heal the breaches of the devouring Reformation" of the 16th century. I have been favored by Dr. Oliver with a copy of a letter from Governor Sacheverell to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the original of which is in the Lambeth Library, amongst the "Codices MSS. Gibsoniani." It is dated from Oxford, *sine anno*; but since Baptist Levinz, Bishop of Sodor and Man, died in 1693, the internal evidence fixes it for September 1st of the year 1696. It is deeply important, as proving that the Earl of Derby did not keep the Bishopric vacant for his own individual profit, but with the view of devoting the proceeds to the repairing of the Cathedral at Peel and the building of churches.

The statement of one portion of this letter, relative to the erection of the Chapel of St. Mary, at Castletown, is remarkably borne out by a document in the Rolls Office, Isle of Man, which I have printed in my *Story of Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey* (published by Bell and Daldy, London), in which William, ninth Earl of Derby, authorizes and appoints his Commissioners of Revenue in the Isle of Man to pay to Thomas Wilson (Bishop of Sodor and Man) and others "the rents, issues, and profits of what kind soever, belonging to the Bishopric, due and payable in the vacaney of the said Bishopric for one whole year, ending Lady-day, 1697; to be laid out in the building and erecting a new chapel in Castletown."

The following is the letter of Sacheverell :—

"May it please your Grace,—

"The charge with which the Earl of Derby has entrusted me, in the Government of his Isle of Man, forces me to lay before your Grace the necessity the poor Church of that place labors under, not only in the want of a Bishop, by the decease of our late Reverend Dr. De Levinz, but at my coming over I found the ancient cathedral down, several churches ruinous, to the repairing whereof the Earl of Derby has kept the Bishopric vacant for near three years; and though the churches are already repaired, yet the necessity of a chapel at Castletown will force his Lordship to continue the vacaney at Kil Crast [Kirk Christ Rushen?] till Easter next; and yet even that will fall infinitely short of the real and pressing necessities of the clergy of the place.

"For, as the finishing of the designs of Dr. Barrow, late Bishop of St. Asaph, would be of great use, not only in building a library (towards which work there are two hundred pounds in the hands of his executors), but some convenient lodgings for the academie youths, who are forced to diet in public-houses in the town, which is very inconvenient. But were these our only misfortunes, they ought to be borne without complaint. But the poor clergy here so absolutely depend on His Majesty's benefaction of £100 a year, which has for more than two years been unpaid, so that the greatest part are fallen into poverty and debt; and three churches are already vacant, the pensions (which are but three pounds per annum) being so small. And what increases our misfortunes, three of the hopefulest of our young men that ever the island bred have deserted us, for fear they should be imposed on them. I know I need no other argument to so great a patron of the Church than to open the misery of our condition, and that your Grace would at least be pleased to retrieve His Majesty's benefaction; and if, by the charity of the Church of England, a means could be found to raise a £1000, it would add some tolerable endowments to these poor livings,

furnish Bishop Barrow's designed library, and build some convenient academic lodgings, and put us out of condition of making our miseries further troublesome.

"I hope I need no excuse for my importunity (tho' a stranger), which proceeds only from a sense of my duty; and on my knees I beg your Grace's benediction, and that you would at least grant your pardon, if not encouragement, to

"Your Grace's most dutiful, most humble,

"And obedient servant,

"Oxon, Sept. 1st."

"WM. SACHEVERELL.

The academic lodgings mentioned in the above letter have grown into King William's College, Castletown, erected in 1830, partly from funds accumulated in the hands of Bishop Barrow's trustees, out of the rents of the Ballagilley and Ilango-hill estates, partly from contributions collected by Bishop Ward, and amounting to about £2,700, and partly by mortgage of the above estates. The academic library occupied the upper portion of a house which stood on the site of the present House of Keys, the Keys meeting in the lower portion of the house, which they rented from the academic trustees. In 1818 the whole of the house was purchased by the Keys, and the library was removed to the Grammar School, and thence to King William's College, where it was destroyed by fire January 14th, 1844.

The above letter leads us to the conclusion that, though Sacheverell received in 1694 notice of removal from the office of Governor, yet he continued to hold the seals of office till the appointment, in 1696, of his successor, Colonel Nicholas Sankey.

I have not been able to trace the history of the Governor of Man after 1696. That he had not lost all connection with the Island when he wrote his book appears probable from the language he addresses to Bishop Wilson, in the letter introductory to his account of the ecclesiastical government of the Isle of Man, Essay IV. of this work.

It will be seen by Note 1 that the two sons of William

Sacheverell, of Barton, by his wife Alicia, who was also his cousin, were born, the elder, William in 1707, and the younger, Henry, in 1709, and that they died at the ages respectively of 16 and 15. He himself died, on the 5th September, A.D. 1715, shortly preceded by his wife. If this William was our author, since he was married in 1692, as is plain from the letters just given, it seems probable that either he had other children, or that Alicia Sitwell was a second wife.

The present volume (printed from the edition of 1702) will be found, on reading the notes along with the text, to give in itself a complete general history of the Isle of Man up to the end of the 17th century. The Manx Society will furnish other works for the more *particular* study of it, including the principal documents contained in the Archives of Castle Rushen, and in the parochial registers of the Isle of Man, also, a collection of charters and grants, formed under the editorial care of Dr. Oliver, from the Patent Rolls, the Rotuli Seotiae, Rymer's *Fœdera*, the Harl. and Cot. MSS., in the British Museum, as well as MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and documents connected with the Abbey of Furness, in Lancashire, discovered in the Archives of the Duchy of Lancaster in Chancery-lane.

I have to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Oliver for the valuable assistance he has given me in the collation of most of the charters contained in the notes to this volume. The very kind contributions of the Rev. Sam. Fox, the Rector of Morley, to the genealogical table of the Sacheverell family are gratefully acknowledged; thanks are also due to Dr. Dodd, of Great Coringham, Thomas Heywood, Esq., Dr. Hume, of Liverpool, and Paul Bridson, Esq., of Douglas, for their most valuable addi-

tions to it. The eminent services of the last-named gentleman, in the laborious compilation of the Index of the present volume, require more special thanks.

I desire, on behalf of the Manx Society, to acknowledge also the kind services rendered by Mr. Gilbert French, of Bolton, for preparing the vignette on the title-page; and to Mr. John Pendlebury, of Manchester, in executing the designs for the covers of the Society's volumes.

J. G. CUMMING.

Queen's College, Birmingham,

June 1, 1859.

TO ROBERT ⁽¹⁾ SACHEVERELL, ESQ.,

OF

BARTON, IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

THESE essays were designed for the service of a young nobleman, ⁽²⁾ who, I once hoped, would have proved an honour to his country, and the ornament of his order; but since his death they seem, by right of nature, to devolve upon you, not only as the head of my family, and for the personal esteem I have for you, but as a testimony of my gratitude to the memory of your father, ⁽³⁾ to whose prudence and conduct, in my minority, I in so great a measure owe my well-being that it would leave me in some sort of suspense whether I ought to celebrate the parent or the patriot first, were not my country's cause an improvement of my own; since few, if any, understood its constitution better, or how to distinguish betwixt the faction and the business of the nation. Thus no man was heard with greater attention in the senate, whether out of a sense of his moderation in avoiding public employments, or his justice and fidelity in the

execution of them, or his laying them down with greater honour and integrity than the rest of mankind retain them. And this seems a peculiar addition to the happiness of his life, in leaving a son, who so justly fills his station, that with pride I submit my papers to his censure and correction ; and only beg leave to subscribe myself,

Your humble servt. and kinsman,

WILLIAM SACHEVERELL.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

CUSTOM has made some sort of address to the reader thought so necessary, that it is looked on as a breach of good manners not to offer an excuse for the errors of the press, or our own. For the first I must refer him to the table of Erratas,⁽⁴⁾ which by reason of my great distance from town, are more numerous than I could have wished. As for the second, I have nothing to add by way of excuse; but as the whole is the effect of mere idleness, so if it chance to amuse any person as idle as myself, I have all I dare pretend to, and yet even in this I almost despair of success; for the place is so obscure, and the matter so narrow, that it is incapable of those curious transitions, those admirable reflections, and those refined characters which at once serve to adorn and to instruct; though by taking the looser way of essay, I have endeavoured to render the whole as diverting as I could. I know the want of a Natural History has been objected, and an account of the House of Derby; but as I have endeavoured to sup-

ply the first in my letter to my ingenious friend, Mr.⁽⁵⁾ Addison of Magdalen College, so the second may be the subject of another essay, if these find acceptance in the world ; if not, I have said too much already,

THE INTRODUCTION.

THIS Island seems almost wholly unknown to the ancients, and the Manks tradition says it was but lately discovered, but had for many ages been concealed by magical arts with mists and vapours, to which in truth it is subject, and therefore dangerous for strangers to approach. Amongst all our modern historians, lawyers, and geographers, there is not one has given any tolerable account of it, except Mr. James Challoner,⁽⁶⁾ Governor for the Lord Fairfax, and the gentleman⁽⁷⁾ (who has not been so kind to transmit his name to posterity) out of whose papers I have drawn the ensuing essays, in which I pretend to no farther share than wording, and reforming some few mistakes which it was very possible for a stranger to make. But as to the rest of our English historians, few of the ancients so much as mention it. Mr. Cambden⁽⁸⁾ is the first that gives us any insight into it. After him my Lord Cook, and Dr. Heylin, but they all so abound with errors, that it is very unsafe following any of them. To instance, but in that great one, about the foundation of the Bishoprie there, which, they all three affirm, was erected by Pope Gregory the 4th, anno 840, in an island near Castletown, whereas

the Bishopric is sufficiently proved by the Primate of Armagh⁽⁹⁾ to have been erected by St. Patrick about the year 447, and the place itself shews there is no such island near Castletown. But the Cathedral dedicated to St. German the first bishop, and St. Patrick's Church in the Island, called the Peel, are standing witnesses, not only of the antiquity of the Bishopric, but of the error of the place in which it was supposed to be erected. But since I have sufficiently cleared all mistakes relating to the Bishopric⁽¹⁰⁾ in my ecclesiastical account, I shall now endeavour to shew what natural misfortunes the country labours under. I think I may comprehend them all under the miserable name of poverty, which is occasioned by a thin soil, and unfruitful blasts⁽¹¹⁾ from the sea air, and the want of experience, rather than that of labour in the people. They likewise want all sorts of timber, salt, wrought iron, coals, and (what formerly supplied all these, and the lord's rent,) they have for several years past lost their herring fishing, which naturally produces a deadness of trade, and must in time reduce the country to great extremity.

As these are general misfortunes of the country, so I cannot but in justice shew where its advantages lie. The first is a perfect unanimity in matters of religion, strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.⁽¹²⁾ The next to this is the goodness of their laws, admirably adapted to their Constitution. The Lord Cook⁽¹³⁾ saith, that the Isle of Man has such laws the like whereof are not to be found in any other place, where every man pleads his own cause without counsel or attorney, or any person that can gain by strife; all Chancery business is ended in twelve or sixteen weeks at farthest, viz., four

court days. I confess matters of Common Law are something more dilatory, because court days come but twice in the year; but the ease of the Government, and every man's interest, draws all suits to as speedy a conclusion as possible. Besides this there is an universal plenty and cheapness, that as there are few that can be properly said to be rich, so neither are there many that can be said to be miserably poor; and, I believe, fewer beggars ⁽¹⁴⁾ in proportion than in any nation. Not to mention the goodness of their ale, which is a commodity not only in the neighbouring kingdoms, but were we allowed the freedom of commerce, would be of great value wherever England trades. As God has given them this blessing in plenty to comfort them in their misfortunes, so he has given them hearts to make use of it, (I wish I could say with moderation.) The people are naturally of a jovial, sociable temper, much inclined to music, very loving among themselves, good natured, but cholerick, as it is observed of most Islanders. They were formerly reputed courageous, and eminent for many excellent military commanders, as will more fully appear from the history; as likewise what respect their kings had among foreign princes, of both which Macon ⁽¹⁵⁾ (not to mention more) was a most remarkable instance. But above all, they have been famous for their hospitality to strangers, as great numbers of English in the late civil wars, and many thousands of Irish Protestants in these (1689) last devastations of that kingdom can even now witness. Nor were they less celebrated, in former ages for sheltering distressed princes, of which I will venture to give my reader one instance:—Eugenius, when Prince of Scotland, took sanctuary in this Isle for nine years, and was afterwards recalled by the nobility and people, and crowned king of Scotland.

To omit Ederius and Corbred, surnamed Gald,⁽¹⁰⁾ from his travelling and learning, (for whom, as I am informed, the Scots to this day call a man that has travelled Gald) who were educated in this Island, even before Christianity; for it is not improbable that these princes chose the Isle of Man for their retreat, because it was then, and many ages after, accounted the only seat of learning: first, under the Druids, of whom my author is of opinion, that this rather than Anglesey was the principal seat, and was called *Sedes Druidarum*, and *Insula Druidarum*.⁽¹⁷⁾ Nor was it less remarkable under their first pious Bishops. Hector Boetius says, Man was the fountain of all honest learning and erudition. Others of the Scotch nation held it the mansion of the muses, and the royal academy for educating the heirs apparent of the Crown of Scotland; as Eugenius the third himself, who likewise sent three of his sons, viz., Ferquard, Fiacre, and Donald, into the Isle of Man, to be educated under Conanus, whom they write Bishop of Sodor,⁽¹⁸⁾ two of which, Ferquard and Donald, were successively kings of Scotland, as both Hector, Boetius, and Hollinshead witness; who likewise inform us, that even before this Conanus (by Dr. Heylin writ Goran) ordered that the three sons of his brother Congel, viz., Eugenius the second, Congalus the second, and Kinatellus the first, should be brought up in the Isle of Man, says Boetius, under the government of certain instructors and schoolmasters, to be trained up in learning and virtuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted. So celebrated was the discipline of those ages, that it seems to have passed into a law, that the princes of Scotland should be educated in this Island.

Having thus far shew'd wherein the ancient honour of the

Island consisted, I think I ought to let my reader know that it had formerly an order of nobility, for I find both earls and viscounts mentioned, who, in my opinion, were the governors of the out Isles; for, in those days, the Comes⁽¹⁹⁾ was the first magistrate in the county, and the Vice-comes his substitute, though in these later ages they have been appropriated as marks of honour to particular families. There were likewise formerly several ecclesiastical barons⁽²⁰⁾ in this Isle, as the Bishop still is; but because those pious foundations lie buried in their own ruins, I shall crown my work with what is the greatest glory this world affords, that it was a kingdom, if you will take the words of my Lord Cook, in Calvin's case, lib. 7, cap. 21, "The ancient and absolute Kingdom of MAN," though since it fell under the homage of the Crown of England, it was never granted but by title of the Island and lordship of Man, so that it pretends to no such absolute dominion, but allegiance to the Crown of England is reserved in all public oaths; neither do I find my author of opinion, that it was an absolute kingdom even in the time of the Norwegians; not but that it still retains most of the essential marks of power, as making laws, of pardoning, of holding all courts in the lord's name, the patronage of the bishopric,⁽²¹⁾ and many other inferior marks of regality, which, as they were derived from the favour of the Crown to the house of Derby, so the uninterrupted loyalty of that family may be justly thought to have deserved it, especially while they managed that great trust with so much tenderness and care of the people; by which they stood examples to all in power, that there is one little barren spot, where law and justice, true religion, and primitive integrity flourished, in contempt of poverty, and all things the world calls misfortunes.

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

VARIOUS were the names the ancients gave this Island. By Cæsar it was called *Mona*, and still so stiled in our records, from all antiquity; by Ptolomy, *Moneda*, and by Pliny, *Monabia*, and it was likewise called *Eubonia*.⁽²²⁾ Not to mention the variety of names it had, in the dark and ignorant ages of the world, it is called at present by the natives, *Manning*; ⁽²³⁾ by the English, *Man*; by the British, *Menaw*; by Gildas and Nennius, *Manaw*.

Its Length and Breadth.—The length of the Island lies from North North East, to South South West, and upon survey is more than thirty miles. Mr. Challoner says, it nowhere exceeds nine in breadth, and in some places not five, which is only true betwixt Derbyhaven and Port-Eriu; but, generally speaking, it is betwixt eight and ten in breadth. It lies betwixt fifty-five and fifty-six degrees of northeru latitude, and fifteen longitude, and Castletown seems to lie under the same parallel with York. My author says it is placed in the navel ⁽²⁴⁾ of the sea, and, in truth, it seems the centre of the king of Great Britain's dominions, almost equally distant in the north from Galloway, in the west from Ulster, in the east from Cumberland, and in the south from Anglesey, but something nearest to England; though some, from the doctrine of sympathies, will have it appertain to Ireland, because it harbours no venomous creatures, which they ascribe to the blessing of their common apostle St. Patrick.⁽²⁵⁾

Its Divisions.—The whole Island is divided into the North and South, each of which has its Castle, Deemster or Judge, and Vicar-General; each Sheading or Subdivision, its Coroner; every Parish, its Captain and Minister; and every Fort its Constable.

THE SOUTH-DIVISION CONTAINS—

The Sheading of Kirk Christ	{	Kirk Christ Rushen.	
Rushen, subdivided into	{	Kirk Arbory.	
the Parishes of	{	Kirk Malew.	Castle Rushen.
	{	Kirk St. Ann.	
The Middle Sheading	{	Kirk Marown.	
	{	Kirk Braddan.	
	{	Kirk Maughold.	Ramsey Town.
The Garff Sheading	{	Kirk Lonnan.	
	{	Kirk Conchan.	Douglas Town.

THE NORTH-DIVISION CONTAINS—

The Sheading of Glenfaba,	{	Kirk Patrick.	Peel Castle.
subdivided into	{	Kirk German.	
	{	Kirk Michael.	Bishop's Court.
The Michael Sheading	{	Kirk St. Mary Ballaugh.	
	{	Kirk Patrick of Jurby.	
	{	Kirk Christ Lezayre.	
The Ayre Sheading	{	Kirk Andreas.	The Archdeaconry.
	{	Kirk Bride.	

So that the Church is governed under a Bishop, by an Archdeacon, two Vicars-General, ⁽²⁶⁾ and sixteen Ministers. The Militia under the Governors by three Majors, and eighteen Captains of Parishes; the Towns, by four Constables; and the Civil Constitution, by two Deemsters, six Coroners, seventeen Moars ⁽²⁷⁾ or Bailiffs, with several other inferior officers.

Air.—The Air by reason of its northerly situation is sharp and cold, much exposed to violent winds, having no shelter from woods or mountains, for the mountains fill the middle part of the country, so that the habitable part is exposed to the sea air; but especially those that lie to the south-west feel the dismal effects of a salt vapour, that point of the Island lying open to the chops of the

channel, and consequently the air is more destructive than what comes from any other point, as being better secured by the neighbourhood of England or Ireland. The Island is likewise subject to mists and vapours, but they are not observed to be any way noxious, but rather allay the severity of the cold; for there is nothing hurtful in mists but when they are raised from unwholesome fens or a muddy shore, which corrupt the air they mix with: but the shore here is all either rock or sand, and consequently the vapours that mix with the air cannot be unwholesome, as being constantly agitated by the violence of the winds and contrary motions of the tide, which are very impetuous; and I think the long lives of the natives (some exceeding fourscore, without either physic or physician,) is a convincing demonstration of the truth of this proposition.

Soil.—As to the Soil, the middle part of the country is generally barren and full of mountains, of which the most considerable are the two Barrules, Skeyal,⁽²⁸⁾ and the watch-hill of Knockalow, but above all Snaefield is the most famous for its unparalled prospect of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The north-west is a poor gravel and sand; the north-east has a large tract of meadow called the Curragh, which was formerly under water,⁽²⁹⁾ but of late well drained and greatly improved; the south, and the south-east has a reasonable good soil, and produces moderate crops of corn when well husbanded, and has some tolerable pastures; and the whole has been of late years greatly improved by the late Governor Greenholfe,⁽³⁰⁾ who taught them the art of liming their lands, which they likewise improve by sea weeds, and in many parts of the country there is marle; but the people have not the skill or the purses to lay it out on their grounds, and I do not doubt but turnips would be an admirable improvement on the northside, were they able to enclose their lands, that they might secure them. The country affords all sorts of grain in reasonable plenty, some small quantity of hemp and flax, a little honey and wax, and some fish oil they export yearly. Their Cattle are generally small; the better sort improve their breed, as likewise that of their horses

which are not yet arrived to any great perfection. They have also a reasonable quantity of Sheep, and some improve in their breed very much, but of these they have barely enough to answer the necessities of the country: they have a remarkable sort they call Laughtown-sheep,⁽³¹⁾ and the wool Laughtown-wool, which, when carefully dressed, makes a cloth near a hair colour, which is one of the greatest natural rarities of the country, especially since the Lambs seldom follow the colour of the sheep, though I suppose it is because they are not kept unmixed, which I have found true by experience. They have likewise Swine in abundance, of which those about their houses are reasonably large, but they have a small mountain kind called Purs which are admirable meat. They have also plenty of Goats. All swine of delinquents are the Lord's, all goats of felons belong to the Queen of Man.⁽³²⁾ They have likewise plenty of Rabbits at twopence the couple, a fat Goose for sixpence, Hens and Ducks at threepence a piece, and usually twelve Eggs a penny. My author says, there are Otters, Badgers, and Foxes, and others, Solan Geese, but I hear of none; but Hares they have in abundance. There are some small quantities of red Deer⁽³³⁾ in the mountains, and the Earl of Derby has lately sent over some Fallow Deer into the Calf, which is a very pleasant Island, near five miles in circuit, and has all the beauty and variety (trees excepted) of any park I ever saw. In the rocks of this Island are great quantities of all sorts of Sea Fowl, but above all the Puffin is most remarkable, which is not to be found in any other part of the Isle of Man; they breed in rabbit holes, and are never to be seen but in the months of June and July, which are the times of sitting. There is nothing ever found in the craw of the young but a sorrel-leaf, which is probably to correct their excessive fat. The Earl has likewise sent over Partridge, which thrive very well, though my author says his grand-father was not so fortunate in his experiment, I suppose the Hawks destroyed them, for there are some ayries of Mettled Falcons, and in summer time we have a sort of small Hawks called Merlins which come out of Scotland and Ireland. We

have yet no Pheasant or Heath Game, but Hens too many, as being protected by the laws. They have very little Timber at present, though it is certain, not only from Goddard Crownan's hiding three hundred men in a wood, and the Church called Kirk Arbory,⁽³⁴⁾ but from the timber found in their bogs, especially those large meadows called the Curragh, that they had formerly great quantities; their firing therefore is generally turf and peat, for they have not discovered any coal mines, though they have some good stone quarries, especially lime stone on the sea shore; and the rocks called the Mine-haugh⁽³⁵⁾ give very probable signs of other minerals, and I am informed they have found iron, lead, and copper.

Rivers.—This Island, says Mr. Challoner,⁽³⁶⁾ to a wonder in so small a tract, abounds in Springs of Water, by which they are supplied with many pleasant and useful Rivulets, but none that deserve the name of a river, though after any rain they are violent torrents: the principal are the Neb, entering the sea at Peel; Colby River in the north by Ramsey; the Black and Gray Water that make the Salmon River at Douglas, and that which falls into the sea at the foot of Castle Rushen. The water is generally good, and much recommended by strangers, who sometimes send for quantities to brew with, as imputing the goodness of our Ale to our water rather than our malt.

These Rivers afford Salmon, Trout, Eels, &c., but the principal subsistence of the inhabitants is from the Sea, which has great variety of excellent Fish, as halybut, turbut, ling, cod, &c., and all sorts of shell-fish; a large lobster for a penny, and very often a dozen of crabs; the oysters are very large but scarce, I suppose they have not yet hit upon the right bed; neither in truth is there near that quantity of fish they had in former ages; for since their herring fails, (of which formerly they had such quantities that five hundred have been sold for a groat, and yet the fishery worth £3000 per annum,) all other fish declines, for herring is the universal prey, so that this only want has reduced the country to great extremities, and I think it demonstration, that

though they want nothing, yet the cheapness of their provisions proceeds from scarcity of money and deadness of trade, rather than any real plenty among them.

Inhabitants.—What the number of the ancient inhabitants was is uncertain, at present the Militia consists of about two thousand men, reasonably well disciplined, besides the fee'd soldiers. The people in general are well bodied, and inured to labour; and it is observed that those who are refined by travel, prove men of parts and business. The common sort speak the native language, the gentry better English than in the north of England.

Language.—As for the Manks language, according to the best information I could get, it differs no more from Irish than Scotch from English, and both of them different idioms of the Erse, or Highland, though Bishop Philips, a native of North Wales, who translated the Common Prayer into the Manks tongue, observes most of the radices to be Welch, and pretends he had never been able to perfect the work but by the assistance of his native language. For myself I observed many of their expressions to have some resemblance to the Latin, (though I cannot imagine how any footstep of that language should be found here) as *Qui fer a tye* for *Qui vir Tecti*, with an abbreviation common to the Irish; but as this was but my private opinion, so I am satisfied no positive judgment can be framed of it, unless the language were reduced to writing; for Bishop Philips's attempt is scarce intelligible by the clergy themselves, who translate it off hand more to the understanding of the people.⁽³⁷⁾ As for their utensils and terms of art, most of them are English with a Manks termination, as *dorus* for *door*; thus they say, *jough a dorus* for *drink at the door*, which is as religiously observed among them at parting, as a stirrup cup with us. In the northern part of the Island they speak a deeper Manks, as they call it, than in the south, which is nearer to the original Highland,⁽³⁸⁾ as being least corrupted with English. Their original words are few, and adapted to mere necessity, but expressive, and often prettily softened by their abbreviations.

Towns.—There are four Towns at present, of which the principal is Castletown, the capital of the Island, and the residence of the Governor. Mr. Challoner says the castle is the solidest piece he ever saw, and, by travellers, said to be like Elsinore⁽³⁹⁾ in Denmark. The building is ascribed by the Manks tradition to Guttred, the second of their Orrys, whose father they say was son to the king of Denmark, and is in truth a noble piece of antiquity. At the foot of this castle is a poor creek (where small ships sometimes venture in) which opens into a large but foul bay, therefore very dangerous for shipping; but about a mile from the town is a reasonable good harbour, called Derbyhaven, which is secured by a fort built in a little island dedicated to St. Michael by the late Earl of Derby.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Douglas, or Dufglass, is the second town. It has upon the east a very safe gullet in the heart of the town; the mouth of it is secured by a fort, so that there is no attempting either town or harbour from the seaward.

The third is Peeltown on the west, anciently called Holmtown; it has a little creek or harbour, secured by an island walled round, very difficult of access, the foot of it being craggy rocks. The castle has a platform round it, well secured with cannon; in it stands the ancient cathedral dedicated to St. German, the first Bishop and repaired by the present Earl; likewise a ruined church dedicated to St. Patrick their apostle; within this circuit is the lord's house repaired by the present Earl, ruinous lodgings of the Bishop, with many other turrets, store-houses, &c., which shew very noble remainders of antiquity.

Ramsey is the last town, upon a large but open bay to the north-east, defended by a block-house, built by the present Earl.⁽⁴¹⁾

The whole Island is naturally secured by dangerous rocks and sands, and violent currents of tides, but when all is said, says Mr. Challoner, its poverty is its greatest security.

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF SOME
REMARKABLE THINGS IN THIS ISLAND.

IN A LETTER TO

MR. JOSEPH ADDISON, OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXON.

SIR,—I hope you will impute the trouble I give you to the necessity, you tell me, I lie under of making some addition to my *Survey of the Isle of Man*, by way of Natural History, since nothing but your commands could have engaged me in a thing so much out of my own way : for, as neither my education or genius lead me to the study of Simples or Minerals, so I assure you I never had curiosity myself enough to inquire whether they had anything in either kind that differed from the common productions of England ; though I am informed, since I left the Island, they have discovered very good Mines of Lead, Copper, Iron, and great probability of Coal.⁽⁴²⁾ Nor is it the least indication of these Minerals that there is a pool, in the mountainous parts of Kirk-Christ Rushen, of so vitriolic a quality that no ducks or geese can live near it ; which probably proceeds from

the frequent spewings of copper, that are discovered on all sides of those mountains. This is the only curiosity of that kind I have heard of, except the tradition of St. Maughold's Well may be thought another, which (if a barren woman be placed in that Saint's chair, and a glass of the water given her) they say has a prolific quality, but probably has lost much of its ancient virtue since the Priests, who had the custody of it, have been discontinued. ⁽⁴³⁾ But whatever generating faculty these waters may have, I am certain those that make a prodigious bog of six miles long and three over, called the Curragh, in Kirk-Christ Lezayre, have no such prolific quality, as not producing Frogs or Toads. Though this may not seem strange in the neighbourhood of Ireland, both nations ascribing it to the blessing of their common Apostle St. Patriek; ⁽⁴⁴⁾ yet methinks it could not but be worth some curious person's inquiry, whether this may not proceed from some vitriolic tincture of the soil, or from some salt vapours that may come from the sea, or from unwholesome effluvia that may arise, either from the stagnation, or (which I would rather prefer) the fermentation that may cause the bog itself; or whether in reality in these Northern climates the sun has force sufficient to dispel those unhealthy vapours, and impregnate the waters with a vital heat. Nor are the Firs, frequently found in the bottom of these bogs, less worthy an inquiry, where, though they lie eighteen or twenty foot deep, the roots are still growing upright in the ground, and all firm and entire, but the bodies broken off, with their heads all lying to the N.E., ⁽⁴⁵⁾ which at least contradicts the opinion of the subterranean growth of trees; though whether this proceeded from that universal breach of nature which we call the Flood, or from any particular convulsion in these Northern parts, or from some violent concussion from the S.W., as most have fancied; in me it raises an idea, like the bursting of a mine, where the mass of matter is sometimes thrown into rude and indigested mountains, and has proportionably deep and unfathomable caverns, which are either filled with water, or skinned over with a spongy substance, which we call bog; at

the bottom of which the first surface of the earth, with its original productions, is still firm and entire. And as these trees are generally fir, of which species there are none now growing in these parts, it may raise a query whether the very productions of the earth did not vary with its transmutation. Nor is the manner of the discovery of these trees less remarkable, since no dews are ever seen upon those parts of the surface of the bog, though they lie twenty foot interred. This may raise speculations among the learned, whether dews may not rise as well as fall, or whether they are evaporated or absorbed by these subterraneous trees. And as the earth, with its original surface, subsided in these lower parts, so the tops of the mountains seem nothing but the rubbish of nature thrown into barren and unfruitful heaps, as near two-thirds of the Island is of this sort. Some seem particularly worthy our remark, as the two Barrowles, Skeyal, the Watch-hill of Knockalow, but particularly Sneafeild, where it is not unpleasant, when the weather is clear and serene, to see three noble nations surrounding one of the most obscure in the universe, which is as it were the centre of the British Empire. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ Here it was the famous Cowley, in his *Poetic Vision*, places himself, to deplore the miseries and calamities of our unhappy civil wars, without reflecting on the quiet and security of the place, which almost always follows poverty; since nothing is safe in this world that will bear the charge of its own ruin. And as nature has produced so many remarkable monuments of her own first dissolution, so art has not been wanting in repairing others, which were, no doubt, designed to preserve the memory of considerable actions, though now lost to us. In these little hillocks (which I think upon Salisbury Plain they call "barrows") frequently urns have been found, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ which shews the manner of burning the dead not to have been peculiar to the Roman nation only, since it is almost certain this Island was never in their possession. The most remarkable of these is one in the centre of the country, called the Tinwall, on which their laws are promulged on Midsummer-day, as being raised with several ascents

for the different orders of people, and is indeed a pretty curiosity. (48) But the largest is in the midst of a morass, called Kirk Christ Rushen, where Reginald, King of Man, was slain by the Knight Ivar; (49) whether it was raised in commemoration of the misfortune of that prince, or whether it was an ancient fort, or for what other end it was designed, is not at present known; yet it is still much celebrated among the natives by the name of the Fairy Hill, upon which a very odd story depends, that would tire your patience rather than gain your belief; for, as no people are more ignorant, so perhaps there is no place where stories of that kind are more current, especially of the apparitions of funeral solemnities, which I have had positively attested, though none so as could deserve entire belief. But as to the light being generally seen at people's deaths, I have some assurances so probable, that I know not how to disbelieve them; particularly an ancient man, who has been long clerk of a parish, has affirmed to me he almost constantly sees them upon the death of any of his own parish; and one Captain Leathes, who was chief magistrate of Belfast, and reputed a man of great integrity, assured me he was once shipwrecked on the Island, and lost great part of his crew; that when he came on shore the people told him he had lost thirteen of his men, for they saw so many lights going toward the church, which was the just number lost. Whether these fancies proceed from ignorance, superstition, or prejudice of education, or from any traditional or heritable magic, which is the opinion of the Scotch divines concerning their second sight; or whether nature has adapted the organs of some persons for discerning of spirits, is not for me to determine, since I design the whole for an introduction to a story, which happened in the year 1690, upon the late King's going into Ireland, of a little boy, then scarce eight years old, who frequently told the family in which he lived of two fine gentlemen, who daily conversed with him, and gave him victuals, and something out of a bottle, of a greenish colour and sweet taste, to drink. This making a noise, the present Deemster, a judge of the Island, a man of good

sense and probity, went into the mountains to see if he could make any discovery what they were; he found the boy, who told him they were sitting under a hedge about a hundred yards from him. The Deemster bid the boy ask them why he could not see them; accordingly the boy went to the place, put off his cap, and made his reverence; and returning, said it was the will of God they should not be seen, but the gentlemen were sorry for his incredulity. The Deemster pulled a crown-piece out of his pocket, and asked the boy what it was; the boy answered he could not tell. He bade him ask the gentlemen; the boy went as before, and, returning, told him they said it was silver, but that they shewed him a great deal of such silver, and much yellow silver besides. Another day a neighbouring minister went into the mountains; the boy told him they were in a barn hard by, exercising the pike. He went to the door of the barn, and saw a pitchfork moving with all the proper postures of exercise, upon which rushing into the barn, the fork was struck to the roof, and no person to be seen. Another day the boy came and told Captain Stevenson that one of them came with his hand bloody, and said he had been in a battle in Ireland. The captain marked the day, and though they had no news in near a month after, it agreed exactly with the time Colonel Woolsley had given the Irish a considerable defeat. I could give you a hundred other instances during their stay, which was above a month; but at last the King came with his fleet into Ramsey Bay, which one of them telling the other before the boy, he answered it was well the King was there in person, for had he sent never so many generals, his affairs would not prosper; and speaking to the boy, told him they must now go with the King into Ireland; that he might tell the people of the Island there would be a battle fought betwixt Midsummer and St. Columbus Day, upon which the future fortune of Ireland would depend (which exactly agreed with the action of the Boyne); that the war would last ten or eleven years, according to one information, or twelve or thirteen according to another (which is the only variation I could observe

in the whole story, the boy being so very young, and having forgot great part of it himself before I came into the Island); but that in the end King William would be victorious over all his enemies. He that considers the youth and ignorance of the boy, which rendered him incapable of carrying on an imposture, must needs allow there is something uncommon in it, except there had been a conspiracy of all the best of the people to deceive me; and every person mentioned is still living, and ready to attest (if need require) upon oath what I have alleged. For myself, I can assure you I have transmitted it with the utmost fidelity, though much short of my original information; and only beg you to accept of the whole as a testimony of the real esteem of,

Sir, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM SACHEVERELL.

ESSAY I.

OF THE ORIGINAL GOVERNMENT OF THE
ISLE OF MAN.

THE original inhabitants of the Isle of Man were undoubtedly the same with the rest of Britain, and their first Government a sort of Aristocracy, under the Druids. I could almost venture to call it a Theocracy, their notions of Divinity were so lively and perfect; their form of government so admirably adapted to the good of mankind; in short, such an excellent mixture of prince and priest, that religion and the state had but one united interest. All mistakes were ended by an amicable composition; the people had such a veneration for the integrity of their rulers, that their awards served instead of laws; the parties acquiesced, and cheerfully attended the magistrate from the tribunal to the altar. ⁽⁵⁰⁾ This was the true patriarechal government, which was not always due to birth, but virtue acquired a voluntary empire over the wills and affections of mankind; where no separate interests were to be found, no self-designs, but one public spirit inspired the whole community. How long they continued under this happy form is very uncertain (though undoubtedly its original was as early as nature itself), but generally it is supposed something longer than the rest of Britain, which the Romans, by

reducing it to their own standard, had, as they termed it, civilized, but, in truth, corrupted the morality, and untaught the genuine rudiments of nature; and it is not improbable it might last till near the end of the fourth century (for I have no more faith in Capgrave's legend of *Mordaius*,⁽⁵¹⁾ which had put an end to it in the first, than in Boetius's fable of *Amphibalus*, by which it had determined in the third); about which time, we are informed by Mr. Camden, out of *Nennius*, that this Island was conquered by one Binley, a Scot. Here began rapine, war, and violence; the ancient form of government was overturned, the natives murdered, expelled, or, if any had so little sense of their former happiness as to survive it, oppressed; the first easy, persuasive power was forgot, and the will of the conqueror supplied the want of laws; for as yet none were superinduced, but force was the common standard betwixt the leader and his followers, a people equally brutish with himself. But as it had been impossible for their government to have subsisted by methods so unequal, common necessity taught them to agree in some fundamentals—as dividing the booty, sharing the lands, and giving the leader his proportion; and this original contract came to be the foundation of their laws, which the universal traditions of the Manks nation ascribe to

Mannan-Mac-Lear, whom they believe the father, founder, and legislator of their country, and place him about the beginning of the fifth century; they pretend he was son of a King of Ulster, and brother to Fergus the Second, who restored the Kingdom of Scotland, A.D. 422. As it is probable the Prince, by the rule laid down, had his share or proportion in lands, so, the tradition says, he exacted no tax or subsidy from his people, but only a quantity of rushes, which were brought him on Midsummer-day.⁽⁵²⁾ This easy service, it is probable, made him greatly beloved, and almost adored for his wisdom (for the subjects will always believe the prince wise that makes them rich), and because they could express it no better, reputed him a magician—a craft not uncommon in legislators (as Zoroaster and Numa), to make

the people believe they act by some superior or supernatural power, that so their dictates may be received as oracles among the ignorant and vulgar. And, what seems to complete their happiness so, towards the latter end of his reign St. Patrick landed here, in his second voyage for Ireland, and was greatly opposed by one Melinus, a famous magician (says Jocelinus in *Vita Patricii*), who, in imitation of Simon Magus, attempting to fly in the air, was mortally bruised by a fall, but, upon his repentance and conversion, immediately restored to his health. Such wonders religion can do, or so much have the writers of ecclesiastical history deceived us. Whether Mannan and Melinus were the same we are not informed, nor what became of him; but the Manks tradition says that St. Patrick, proceeding on his voyage, left Germanus Bishop, and Jocelinus concurs with him in these words—"Ad regendum et crudiendum populum in fide Christi." This Germanus was canon of the Lateran, a prudent and holy man, one of the first assistants of St. Patrick in the conversion of Ireland, who, by his wisdom, conduct, and virtuous example, absolutely settled the Christian religion, whether by the death, conversion, or voluntary abdication of Mannan-Mac-Lear, is uncertain, for methinks expulsion sounds too harsh. Those were the saints of a later date who expelled the natives to enjoy their lands, and by rapine and murder made room for what they call religion. How long this pious person filled the chair we know not; that he died before St. Patrick is evident. The Church celebrates his memory among the blessed, and the cathedral in Peel Castle is dedicated to him.

To supply this loss, St. Patrick sent over two bishops, Conindrius and Romulus, of whom their tradition says no more, but that during their government St. Maughold (⁵³) was cast in here in a little leathern boat, his hands manacled, and bolts on his feet. The good bishop received him with admiration and pity, especially when he had informed them he had been a captain of robbers in Ireland, and that he voluntarily underwent this penance for his former course of life. The rest of the legend is so gross,

I shall only say that after the death of the two bishops he was elected by the unanimous consent of the Manks nation, Anno 498, which was four years after the death of St. Patriek. It is not expressed whether he held the temporal government; my author is of opinion he did not, but that he retired into the mountainous tract called by his own name, where he led an austere and contemplative life; in which place the piety of succeeding ages built a city, though now scarce a village, except Ramsey, which is within the parish, were the place. An odd metamorphosis that changed a man, whose nature ought to be conversable, into a solitary animal, and afterwards that solitude into a city. In this retirement it was that St. Bridget, one of the Tutelar Saints of Ireland, came to receive the veil of virginity from his hands, as her nephew, Cogitosus, who wrote her life, informs us. He that hath more curiosity for the legend of this saint ought to read his life written by Lawrence Surius, a monk of Furness, who had either a larger invention or was better informed than the rest of mankind. How long he filled the chair is very uncertain, but the Manks tradition says the government continued successively in the hands of the Bishops until the coming of a King called Orry; but this contradicts all the legends and histories of that age, for the *Antiquities of Glastonbury* tell us that about the year 520 King Arthur conquered this Isle, which he generously restored to the native Prince, and afterwards admitted him among his Knights of the Round Table; for in those romantic ages honour was the sole object of their conquest, which the ambition of the world hath now learned to improve to interest and private advantage.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Who this King was our legend-makers have not informed us, neither have we any named till about sixty years after; this was

Brennus (by Buchanan styled Brendinus Regulus Euboniæ), sister's son to Aydan, King of Scotland, a Prince enterprising, active, and brave, who, hearing his uncle was hard beset by the Piets and their confederates, raised what forces he could for his assistance, in the year 594; was slain fighting in the head of his

Manksmen, and, with a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, left a bloody victory to his uncle. Not long after Eugenius, the son of Aydan, obtained the crown of Scotland, and in memory of his education and the kind reception he had found here, sent his three sons Ferquard, Fiacre, and Donald to be educated under Conan, Bishop of this Isle.

Ferquard obtained the crown of Scotland in 610, and not long after was murdered by a conspiracy, upon which the nobility, by a solemn deputation, offered the kingdom to his second brother,

Fiacre, who (though in the heat of youth) rejected it with a greatness perhaps that never had a parallel, and afterwards became one of the most eminent instances of mortification and devotion which that age produced, and the crown devolved on the younger brother,

Donald, who governed with great prudence, and as he was one of the most celebrated of all the Scottish Kings, has left it disputable to posterity which was the greatest, he that refused the crown, or he that wore it with so much honour and integrity. It is probable this island, after the death of Brennus, was annexed to Scotland, from which it is believed to have been wrested about twenty years after by Edwin, King of Northumberland, though how long he held it is very uncertain, and perhaps it might rather be a ravage than a conquest; neither do we find it met with any further disturbance till about 300 years after, so that it gave no occasion for history, which generally treats of nothing but the miseries and misfortunes of mankind, but rarely recounts their quiet and happiness. But during this long silence of the British historians the Manks tradition supplies us with a line of Kings, whom they term Orrys, and tell you they had a succession of twelve of them; of which the first was a son of a King of Denmark and Norway, a fortunate and enterprising Prince, who, they say, first conquered the Orcades, and then the Ebudes, and at last fixed his residence in the Isle of Eubonia. He reigned long and peaceably, and became the stem of their second race of Kings called Orrys, (55) during whose government

the Christian religion flourished, under the care of their bishops, successors to St. Patrick.

Guttred, his son, succeeded, to whom they ascribe the building of Castle Rushen about the year 960. He greatly laboured to civilize the people, and lies obscurely buried in the castle of his own foundation, and has left a noble monument to all succeeding ages of his virtue. The third of this line was

Reginald, a Prince gay, amorous, inconstant, and reputed a magician, who, having seduced a lady of quality by a certain magic, that is seldom wanting to the witty and the brave, had the ill fate to have his throat cut by her brothers, who were soldiers of fortune. He was succeeded by one

Olave, who, for assuming the crown without the King of Norway's consent, was civilly invited to his court, but at his landing was seized, arraigned, and executed.

Olain, his brother, succeeded him, who seized on this and some other islands; a Prince of great virtue and justice, who, after a government of three-and-twenty years, died of a flux in Ireland, and had for his successor

Allen, a cruel, libidinous, extravagant, intemperate Prince. He was poisoned, or bewitched, by a person that had been his governor. He was succeeded by his son, called

Fingall, who had for his successor his son

Goddard, of whom the Manks tradition gives us no character; and I doubt the whole number are no better than the invention of their monks, to amuse the people, especially since they have omitted almost the only real King that deserved that honour; his name was

Maeon, or Macutus, who lived about the middle of the tenth century, and for refusing to do homage to our glorious monarch Edgar, lost his kingdom; but was afterwards not only restored, but made admiral of that prodigious fleet—which perhaps never had a parallel—of 4,800 sail of ships (if our historians have not added a cypher too much), with which twice in the year he sailed round the British Isles, to clear the seas from rovers, especially

the Danes and Normans, who about that time miserably harassed the sea coasts of Europe. Sir Henry Spelman calls him "Totius Angliæ Arehipirata," which in another place he interprets "Princee of Seamen;" and from him, it is probable, the ancient bearing of the Island was a ship in her rough sails, with this inscription, "Rex Manniæ et Insularum," which, my author says, was engraved on a seal, once in the custody of Mr. Cambden.⁽⁵⁶⁾ It is certain that coats of arms came to be in use about that time, and this among the erities was supposed to be the seal of Maeon; though how the coat came to be altered is uncertain, except this now in use was the proper bearing of Goddard Crownan and his deseendants. Among other marks of honour paid to this Princee by King Edgar, his attendanee on him in that solemn passage over the Dee is not the least, where he, aecompanied by a vast number of his nobility in boats, was rowed over that river in a stately barge, prepared for that purpose, by eight of those kings, who paid homage to his sovereignty, he himself holding the rudder, to testify his superiority over them all; among whom Maeon had the third oar, to give him preeedenee of the other five; and when that monareh made the memorable eonfirmation of the charter of Glastonbury, Maeon subscribed to it immediately after the King of Seotland. How long this great man governed (who must always be reputed among the heroes) is uncertain, and likewise who sueceeded him, though his name was probably⁽⁵⁷⁾

Syraeh, who held the kingdom about the beginning of the eleventh century; of whom neither Mr. Cambden nor the Manks tradition gives us any charaeter, but both agree he was sueceeded by his son

Goddard, towards the latter end of whose reign, Anno 1065, Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, son of Earl Goodwin, was elected to the erown of England, against whom Harfager, King of Norway, came with a mighty army, but Harold met him at Stamford, fought him, and routed him, and drove his Norwegians out of England; among whom Mr. Cambden, from the *Monks of Rushen*, and the Manks tradition tells us that God-

dard Crownan, son of Harold the Black of Izeland, fled for protection into this Island, where he was kindly entertained by the people (who are naturally fond of strangers); but then greatly discontented with the ill conduct of their Prince, a man of no faith, no honour, treacherous, inconstant, timorous, and unjust; one, in short, that seemed peculiarly marked out by heaven to undo himself and people; of whose ill humours Goddard thinking to make advantage, returned into his native country, and raising a great fleet, came back with all speed to the Isle of Man, but found the King dead, and his son

Fingall in the throne; and, as the people naturally bury their grievances in their prince's grave, Goddard found all his measures broken; therefore, he resolved to attempt the Island by open force; but, receiving a notable repulse by the natives, returned back to reinforce his fleet and army; which done, he made a second attempt, but still with the same fortune; so that, despairing to effect this design by open violence, he had recourse to this stratagem. In a dark night he came upon the coast, and landed three hundred of his men, and lodged them in a wood under a hill, called Skeyall, near Ramsey, and the next morning landed the rest of his forces, was opposed by the Manksmen with their usual bravery; and when Goddard's men began to give ground, and the natives thought the field their own, the three hundred fresh men fell on them in the rear, and Goddard renewing the charge vigorously in the front, the poor Manksmen began to give ground, and at the same time the tide coming in rendered their retreat impossible, so that, reduced to the fatal necessity of dying by the enemy's sword or drowning in the river, they unanimously cried for quarter, which Goddard (remembering the kind reception he had found) willingly granted, and sounded a retreat to save any further bloodshed. What became of Fingall, we do not find, but probably he fell in battle. The next morning Goddard, assembling all his forces, gave them their choice of dividing their land, or booty, among them. The majority chose the latter, and accordingly had it divided with great equality,

and were civilly dismissed ; and as for those that were willing to stay, Goddard granted them the south part of the Island, and the northern division to the original natives, but upon condition that no man for ever should claim any inheritance ; so that to this day the whole Island became the demesne of the Crown. (58) Thus a discontented people, by changing masters, often run themselves into the slavery they thought to avoid.

ESSAY II.

OF THE FAMILY OF GODDARD CROWNAN.

GODDARD having thus fortunately settled himself and his affairs, endeavoured to secure the civil policy of his new Government, and to compose the minds of his people that were of different nations, languages, and manners; but as the natural aversion which men have for strangers (especially when they come to be their masters) rendered his design difficult, and almost impracticable, he found a foreign war absolutely necessary; whether military discipline renders men more exact in their obedience, or that the employing of the more active spirits abroad in a manner stifles the seeds of factions and divisions at home; or whether men more naturally agree to oppress their neighbours than to live peaceably and amicably among themselves. Wherefore, raising a great army, where all the active and the brave of either party were indifferently preferred, he landed them in Ireland. His first attempt was upon Dublin, which immediately opened her gates; and almost all the whole provinces of Leinster followed the torrent of his good fortune, had not the Western Scots given some check to it. He therefore equipped his fleet, and spread such a terror among them, that they all submitted to his orders—viz., that no Scot should build a boat above three streaks high (says the Manks Tradition), or drive above three nails in them

(according to Mr. Cambden). After this, resolving on a progress to settle the whole Kingdom of the Isles, he died in the Isle of Yla. A princee fortunate in war, prudent in peace, and mereiful after victory. He left three sons behind him—Lagman, Harrold, and Olave, and was the stem of their third race of Kings of the Izeland, or Norwegian lines.

Lagman, the eldest of his sons, succeeded him in the Government, but with the continual rebellion of his brother Harrold, who probably was favoured by the soldiery; so that he was foreed to seize him, and deprive him of his members of generation (a barbarity frequently praetised in those ages), of which he died; but immediately repenting this inhuman usage of his brother, he quitted his kingdom, and took the sign of the cross, according to the misguided devotion of those times, and travelled to Jerusalem, where he died, 1075. (59) He held the Government but two years, which shows Mr. Cambden greatly mistaken in allowing sixteen to his father, whereas there were but nine from his landing to the death of Lagman.

Olave, the third son of Goddard Crownan, being very young, the nobility and people not agreeing on a proper person to administer the Government, sent to Mureard O'Brian, King of Ireland, desiring him to send them some worthy person of royal extraction to rule during Olave's minority. The King, willing to oblige them, sent Donald, the son of Tade, admonishing him to govern another man's inheritance with gentleness and moderation; but as power often intoxicates weak minds, he quickly forgot the good King's prudent advice, and gave himself to all manner of villanies, till the nobility and people, no longer able to bear them, by universal consent expelled him the Island. About the same time, in the year 1077, the King of Norway sent one Ingremond to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of the Isles, who came as far as Lodus (now Lewis), and sent to the nobility and people to elect him their King, who, assembling themselves in order to it, were informed he gave himself up to robbing, drunkenness, and violating matrons and virgins;

therefore they unanimously agreed in the night to fire the house in which he lodged, with his retinue, and, by a barbarous piece of justice, with fire and sword dispatched him and all his Norwegians at once, and elected one Mac Marus, a person of great prudence, moderation, and justice, who, in the year 1098, laid the first foundation of the Abbey of Rushen, ⁽⁶⁰⁾ in the town of Ballasalley. These monks lived by their labour, with great mortification; wore neither shoes, furs, nor linen; eat no flesh, except on journeys. It consisted of twelve monks and an abbot, of whom the first was called Conanus. I find the Cistercian Order to have its first beginning this very year, though probably they were not planted here until six and thirty years after, by Evan, Abbot of Furness. But while Mac Marus was employing himself in these works of piety, which rarely secure the best of men from the misfortunes of this world, the northern men, who were the original natives, formed a conspiracy against him, commanded by Earl Outher. The battle was fought at a place called Stantway, in St. Patrick's Isle (which therefore must be the parish of Jurby), in which both the generals were slain; and Mr. Cambden says the northern men had the victory; but the Manks tradition informs us that the women of the south side came with so much resolution to the assistance of their husbands, that they not only restored the battle, but, as a reward of their virtue and bravery, to this day they enjoy half their husbands' estates during their widowhood; whereas the northern women have but a third. ⁽⁶¹⁾ But whatever side got the victory, the public had the loss, for the Island was so weakened that it lay exposed to the first that would attempt it. Thus private factions at home too often betray the public liberty to some more potent invader abroad; for about the same time

Magnus, King of Norway, son of Olaus, grandson of Harrold Harfager, being desirous to see whether the body of St. Olave, king and martyr, remained uncorrupted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishop and Clergy, by violence opened the coffin, and having seen and handled the body, and finding it

entire, ordered it again to be deposited in the shrine. But as it is almost incredible what an influence superstition has over the minds even of the most brutish, the night following he dreamed St. Olave appeared to him, saying, "Choose either to lose thy life and kingdom in thirty days, or else to leave Norway, and never see it more." The King in the morning sent for his princes and elders, and acquainted them with the vision, who advised him with all speed to quit Norway. He therefore ordered 120 sail of ships to be forthwith rigged and manned, and coming to the Orcades, and from thence to the Ebudes, conquering all before him, at last he arrived in the Isle of Man. The Scottish historians say these islands were given him by Donald, King of Scotland, for restoring him to the Crown, which is not improbable. Magnus, after his landing, went to the place where the late battle had been fought three days before, and ordering the bodies to be buried, he viewed the Island round, and found it, in comparison of his own country, fruitful and pleasant, therefore fixed upon it as his own residence, and fortified it carefully. He so awed the men of Galloway that he forced them to cut down timber, and bring it to the shore, towards the erecting of forts in different parts of the Island; and having settled his affairs here, he sailed into Anglesey, where he found two Hughes, Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, of whom he killed one, and drove away the other, and conquered the island. The Welsh nation made him very large presents, so that he carried his armies no further that way, but returned into Man, from whence he sent his shoes to Murchard, King of Ireland, commanding him to carry them on his shoulders through his hall on Christmas-day, which the Irish resenting as a great affront, the King with more temper answered, "I had rather not only carry, but eat, his shoes, than that Magnus should destroy one province of Ireland;" therefore he not only fulfilled his commands, but used his ambassadors honourably, and sent considerable presents to himself, and made a league with him. But when Magnus was informed of the pleasantness and fertility of Ireland, he immediately designed

the conquest of it; and ordering his navy to follow, with sixteen ships only went before to take a view of the country, but unwarily quitting his fleet, was surrounded by the Irish, and slain, with almost all that were with him. He governed this Island six years, and lies buried in St. Patrick's Church, in Down. As soon as the nobility and people were informed of the death of Magnus, they sent a solemn embassy to

Olave, ⁽⁶²⁾ the third son of Goddard Crownan, then in the Court of Henry the First, King of England, and offered him the Kingdom of the Isles; a Prince then in the flower of his youth, peaceable, just, liberal, but especially to the church, therefore pious, but privately amorous and lewd. He assumed the Government Anno 1102, and had the King of England for his patron, the Kings of Scotland and Ireland for his confederates; so that, having nothing to fear from abroad, he applied himself to public works of mercy and piety at home; first, by reforming his laws and the manners of his subjects; and wisely weighing that religion and good education greatly soften the temper of a brutish and vicious people, he, Anno 1134, gave the Abbey of Rushen, some years before begun by Mac Marus, to Evan, Abbot of Furness, which was to serve as a nursery to the church; from hence it is the Abbots of Furness had the approbation of the Abbot of Rushen, and, as some believe, the Abbey had the right of electing the Bishop himself, and was a sort of chapter to his diocese. Olave, having laid thus the groundwork of his establishment, greatly endowed the whole Church of the Isles with large franchises, liberties, and immunities. The revenue was set out after the most ancient and apostolical manner—viz., one-third of all the tithes to the Bishop, for his maintenance; the second to the Abbey, for education of youth and relief of the poor (for those good monks were then the public almoners, and by their own labours rather increased than diminished the public charity); the third portion of the tithes was given to the parochial priests, for their subsistence. ⁽⁶³⁾ Olave having spent nearly forty years in all the calm enjoyments of peace, at last resolves to visit the

King of Norway, perhaps to take away all scruples about the succession; and in the year 1142 did homage to Ingo, or Hengo, King of Norway, by whom he was honourably received, and before his departure crowned King, and left his son Goddard to be educated in the Norwegian Court. Not long after his return into Man, he found the long peaceable course of his affairs quite altered, for the three sons of his brother Harrold, who had been educated in Dublin, raised great forces, and demanded one moiety of the Kingdom of the Isles. Olave desired time to consider of it, and on the day appointed to receive his answer the principal persons on both sides met at Ramsey, where both parties being drawn up in lines opposite to each other, Reginald, one of the brothers, standing in the middle as talking to some of the principal persons, at last being called to the King, turned himself on a sudden as if he designed to salute him, but at the same time lifted up his battle-axe, and at one blow cut his head off by a paricide as detestable as it was base and unnatural. The nobility depending on Olave being all dispersed or slain, Reginald divided the country among his own followers. Olave left by his wife Affrica, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, one son, who succeeded him; by his mistresses he had several, as Reginald, Harrold, and Lagman, and many daughters, of whom one was married to Summerled, Prince of Argile, which was the occasion of great mischiefs, and the dividing the Kingdom of the Isles. The sons of Harrold, flushed with this success, had thoughts of conquering all before them; immediately, therefore, they transported the forces into Galloway; but the people there behaved themselves with that bravery and resolution, that they quickly forced them to return with shame and confusion into Man, where immediately they exercised all the barbarities on the men of Galloway that shame, disappointment, and revenge could invent, or souls equally brutish and cruel execute. But the justice of Heaven would not suffer so many villanies to go long unpunished, for in the year 1143 (64)

Goddard, the son of good King Olave, returned out of Norway

(the whole Island submitting immediately to him), ordered two of the sons of Harrold to lose their eyes, and the third, who had been his father's murderer, to be executed. Having by this piece of justice cleared his way to the Crown, by the unanimous and hearty consent of the whole people, he assumed the Government. Goddard was then in the flower of his youth, brave, active, generous, with the mien and stature of a hero, and polished with a foreign education; all which, joined to the merit of an excellent father, attracted the hearts and adoration, not only of his own people, but of strangers. All the neighbouring provinces envied or admired the happiness of the Manks nation, and every one wished a King like theirs. The people of Dublin, perhaps not unmindful of the wise conduct of his grandfather, Goddard Crownan, and the fresh memory of the virtue of his father, by the consent of the nobility of the whole province of Leinster, chose him their King, Anno 1147. Murehard, King of Ireland, alarmed with the loss of so fair a province, raised considerable forces, and sent Oselby, his brother by the mother's side, with 3,000 horse, with design to surprize the city of Dublin; but Goddard, being ready to receive him, routed the whole party, slew the general himself, and absolutely settled his new acquired Kingdom. But while princes are making conquests abroad, they often give occasions for factions and discontents at home, for the King's mind began to be corrupted by the flattery and insinuations of his new people, more polite, and of a genius more refined than his own. This first raised aversions and contempt, which by degrees degenerated into violence and tyranny; for the gaining of a crown may sometimes forfeit the virtue which renders a man worthy of it. Goddard, therefore, returning into Man, where he thought by severity to reclaim the discontents of his people; not considering that gentleness and moderation have the strongest and most effectual ascendance over the wills and affections of mankind, unadvisedly began with the turning several of the better sort out of their estates. But the violating a people's settlement gives them too fair a pretence of retaliating when they

have the power, and generally it proves fatal to the undertakers; for Thorfinus, the son of Otter, was at that time the principal of all the natives, and perhaps the worst used, as being dispossessed of some lands he had a pretence to, sullen, morose, designing, always in the wrong, a friend to nobody, but a most implacable enemy. This man, perceiving the general discontents of the people, by setting up for a patriot, designed to work his own private revenge; he therefore goes into Argile, to Summerled, who had married a daughter of good King Olave, and persuaded him to make his son Dufgall King of the Isles. Summerled, a Prince hot, enterprising, brutish, and ambitious, immediately embraced the proposal; and Thorfinus, by his own influence and persuasion, brought several of the western islands under his obedience. But as yet the majority of the people, whether out of sense of duty, or affection, or tied by employments, the most efficacious obligations, still adhered to their ancient King. Among these, Paul, a person of great loyalty, integrity, and virtue, gave Goddard notice of Thorfinus's projects and Summerled's preparations. He, therefore, equips eighty ships, and in the year 1156 a bloody battle was fought at sea, where, both sides wearied with the slaughter of their adversaries, and the victory still doubtful, the two generals agreed to divide the Kingdom of the Isles, of which all the northern fell to the son of Summerled. But he, not contented with a moiety, in the year 1158 came into Man with fifty-eight ships, and all the people, either weary of the war or the severity and ill conduct of their Prince, immediately submitted to him. So that Goddard, by letting a discontented people slip from him, now found himself no more a King, but forsaken and slighted by all, especially those who had been the ministers of his severity, and found no safer way to make their court to their new master than by exposing the old. For he that will do ill to please his Prince, will certainly do the same against him when it appears his more immediate interest. At last he found means to escape into Norway, there to reserve himself to his better fortune. But Summerled,

flushed with these petty victories, now set no bounds to his ambition; therefore, in the year 1161, he raised a great fleet of 160 sail, with a resolution to master all Scotland; but attempting to land his men at a place called Rheinfrin, was conquered by a few, himself and son slain, with almost all his people. Thus Heaven permits great and ill men to be scourges to the world, and by their temporary successes only makes their punishment more eminent and conspicuous. The people, glad to be thus delivered, by dear-bought experience found a sensible difference betwixt a passionate and misguided Prince and a real tyrant. Everyone began to think of Goddard, their natural King, and the merits of his excellent father; besides, six years' absence, and his own generous qualities, had quite blotted out the errors of his youth. Thus the hearts of the people were all bending towards him, when Reginald, his bastard brother, gathered an armed multitude of rascals of different nations, resolving to carry the Kingdom of the Isles. The Manksmen stoutly defended their King's cause. The battle was fought at Ramsey, and the people lost the day by the treachery of a certain count, who probably apprehended Goddard's revengeful temper. So much it is a Prince's interest to have the people believe him of a forgiving nature. But he, duly informed of the Island's good inclinations towards him, the fourth day after the battle landed with a numerous assistance from the King of Norway. The people received him with open arms, all former errors were mutually forgot, and Reginald seized and deprived of his eyes, and all those who might render the succession disputable. From this time Goddard began to settle his affairs with gentleness and moderation. Mac-Lotlen, son of Maccartack, King of Ireland, gave him his daughter Fingala to wife, by whom he had a son, named Olave; but the marriage having not been celebrated with the accustomed ceremonies of the church, Anno 1171, Viranus, Apostolic Legate, came into Man, and caused it to be canonically performed, Olave being three years old. Sylvanus, the Abbot, married them, to whom the King, as an expiation of his error, gave a piece of land at

Mireseoge, ⁽⁶⁵⁾ to build a monastery in, which was afterwards given to the Abbey of Rushen, with the monks belonging to it. Perhaps the place might be Ballamona, in Kirk Christ Lez-Ayre, so uncertain are ancient places that are delivered to us with most certainty. The year following the King took a progress through the Isles, to settle the long discomposed state of affairs. During his absence Eamareat, one of the blood royal, attempting some novelty, brought a great multitude, who at first dispersed some few who guarded the coasts, and killed about thirty; but the same day the Manksmen rallied their whole forces, and slew him and all his followers. It is probable the King's progress took up two years, for Anno 1177 it appears O'Fogalt was Vice-Comes Manniæ. Thus he continued composing and settling the affairs of his Government till the year 1187, in which he died, on the 9th of September, in a good old age. He had tried both extremes; ruined by success and the ill conduct of his youth, until after made wiser by afflictions, he proved a fortunate and happy Prince. The year following his body was translated to the Isle of Hy. He left three sons—Reginald, Olave, and Ivar, and appointed Olave his successor, because born in lawful wedlock; but Olave being then a minor, the Manksmen sent for the eldest son Reginald, out of the Isles, and made him King, Anno 1188.

Reginald was then of a ripe age, endowed with all the great qualities that could render a wicked soul destructive and pernicious—as wit, courage, and resolution, mixed with craft, dissimulation, and revenge, which, added to the natural injustice to his brother Olave, rendered his reign long and unhappy, as it was bloody and destructive to his people. His first act was the death of one Murehard, jealous of his power in the Kingdom of the Isles, and not consenting to his election: an unhappy omen, where a prince lays the first cement of his throne in blood. And yet the beginning of his reign was peaceable enough, perhaps more than suited with his own inclination; for though in the year 1202 a bloody battle was fought betwixt the sons of Summerled, Reginald and Engus (the living images of a restless

and ambitious father) wherein the younger gained the victory, and some years after, another, in which the whole family was extirpated; yet we do not find Reginald concerned himself in these quarrels. But in the year 1204 John Curey,⁽⁶⁶⁾ who had been dispossessed of his lands in Ulster by Hugh Lacy, came into Man. John had married Affriea, daughter of King Goddard, and sister to Reginald, a lady of excellent virtue and piety, who founded the Abbey of St. Mary de Jugo Domini, in which she was buried. Her husband's business was to engage Reginald in the war with Lacy, which he readily embraced, and in the year 1205 entered Ulster, at a port called Strangford, with a hundred sail of ships; but whilst they carelessly sat down before the Castle of Ruth, Lacy surprized and routed them; after which Curey never recovered his lands. Reginald, in the 6th of King John, had done homage for the Isle of Man, for which the King granted him a knight's fee in Ireland, and his protection *pro feodo and servitio suo*, says the record. Whether he had done anything contrary to this homage, or whether the assistance he had given Curey was interpreted in that sense, John, sailing into Ireland, with 500 ships, sent an earl, named Fulke, who grievously spoiled the whole Island; till at last, wearied with so many cruelties, he took hostages of the future fidelity of the people, and returned into Ireland, Reginald and all his principal officers being still absent. But the people, who always impute their own misfortune to the ill conduct of their rulers, began to think of their injustice to Olave, their lawful Prince, then in the vigour of his age, and master of all those refined qualities that render princes agreeable to their people, or men to one another; mild, just, sedate, pious, liberal, to which was added an admirable symmetry of body, which rendered him the darling of the ladies, who, by their influence at home, often make the strongest interest abroad. Reginald, returning into Man with his shattered army, and viewing with indignation the desolation of his country, and (as he was of a subtle and piercing judgment) at the same time perceiving the lost affections of his people, resolved to remove the

idol of their hearts; but not finding it safe to do it by open violence, he proposes the granting the Lewis Islands to him, for his better support and maintenance, which he reported to be larger than any of the Ebudes, though, in truth, but thinly inhabited, mountainous, rocky, and almost wholly unarable. Olave, weary of the precarious course of life he then led, Anno 1207, accepted the offer, and went to take possession of those isles, which he found not sufficient for the maintenance of himself and retinue, but for some time led a miserable and solitary life; till, no longer able to bear so wretched a confinement, he resolutely returned into Man, and, with a freedom as natural as it was graceful, presented himself to his brother, and told him the Kingdom of the Isles was his by inheritance, yet, since it had pleased God to place him on the throne, he no ways envied his advancement, but only entreated him to give him some portion of lands on which he might live comfortably, for the Lewis were not sufficient for his support. But nothing grates a tyrant more than to hear a lawful heir demanding his right. He, for that time, promised to consider of it; but the day following ordered him to be seized, and sent him to William, King of Scotland, where he was kept in chains seven years; at the end of which time King William, dying, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who at his coronation ordered all prisoners to be released, and among the rest Olave, who returned immediately into Man, and, well attended by the nobility and good wishes of the people, presented himself to his brother Reginald, who, though troubled at his escape, received him with all seeming satisfaction, and married him to the Lord of Cantyre's daughter, named Lavon, who was sister to his own Queen, but gave them nothing but the Lewis for their subsistence. Necessity compelled Olave to accept of those conditions, since he could get no better; but he was no sooner in the Lewis, but Reginald, Bishop of those isles, called a synod, and divorced him from his new wife, as too near of kin to his former, for he had been married before. The Queen, a woman haughty, ambitious, and revengeful, interpreted this slight of her sister as an

affront to herself, especially when she heard Olave had married Christiana, daughter of Ferchard, Earl of Ross. She had a son, named Goddard, who then resided in the Western Islands, to whom she wrote, in the King, his father's name, to murder Olave; but as there are few wicked designs laid so close but there are some informers, Olave just got notice time enough to save himself in a little boat, and escaped to his father-in-law, the Earl of Ross; but Goddard, immediately landing his forces in the Lewis, utterly wasted all before him. At that same time Paul, the son of Boke, was Viscount of Skey, a man very powerful in the Isles, subtle, fierce, designing, an enemy to Reginald rather than a friend to Olave; him likewise they compelled to take shelter with the Earl of Ross, by whose advice Olave, now reduced to the last necessity, was persuaded to endeavour the recovery of his inheritance, of which he had been so many years dispossessed. By the assistance, therefore, of the Earl of Ross and the Viscount of Skey, he resolves to surprize Goddard in the Isle of St. Columbus, where they were informed he was retired with a small retinue, and but five ships with him in the harbour. Therefore, drawing together their friends and dependants, with great numbers of volunteers, they in the night seized the five ships, and in the morning surrounded the whole island with their own fleet. Goddard and his party were amazed when they saw themselves beset, yet stood resolutely to their arms, but in vain; for, about nine o'clock they attempted the island in several places at once, and slaughtered all before them, without the bounds of the church. Goddard fell into the hands of the Viscount of Skey, who, fearing Olave's gentle temper, immediately ordered him to be deprived of his eyes and genitals, which Olave was far from consenting to, but came too late to hinder. Olave now, urged on by despair, necessity, justice, but more than all by the Viscount of Skey, resolves to push his good fortune to the utmost; he therefore took hostages of all the great men of the Isles, and in the year 1215 set sail with a fleet of thirty ships, and landed at Rannesway; but the nobility and people interposing, the brothers

came to an agreement, and divided the Kingdom of the Isles betwixt them; of which Reginald, besides his moiety, had the Isle of Man allotted to him. Olave, having refreshed his men, returned to his part of the Isles. But Reginald, storming in himself to be so dispossessed of above a hundred islands, of which he had been so long master, sent to Allen, Lord of Galloway, for assistance, and the year following rigged a great fleet, and sailed into the out-isles, with design to dispossess his brother Olave; but the people absolutely refusing to fight against their natural Prince, forced him to retire home without effecting his design. Reginald, restless and impatient with his second disappointment, pretends a necessity of a journey to England. The people cheerfully supply him with 100 marks towards his journey; but instead of going to the Court of England, he carried his daughter into Galloway, and married her to the son of that Lord. But as nothing discontents a people more than the misapplication of public money, especially when they see themselves betrayed to a foreign power; so, considering with indignation the ingratitude of Reginald, and their own injustice to their lawful master, by universal suffrage they sent for Olave, and declared him King, in the year 1216. Reginald, now too late, seeing his error, to retrieve a lost game, resolves in good earnest on a voyage to the Court of King John.

It is certain, as we have above observed, that King John, in the sixth year of his reign, took Reginald, King of Man, into his protection, and granted him one knight's fee in Ireland, *pro feodo et servitio suo*. He likewise granted him 100 quarters of corn, to be delivered at Droghedah, May the 26th, Anno Regni sui 14, Anno Dom. 1212. Henry the Third, Anno Regni sui 2 do., Anno Dom. 1219, granted to Reginald, King of Man, letters of safe conduct to come into England to do him homage, &c.; ⁽⁶⁷⁾ and in the fifth year of his reign, 1221, the same King writes to his justice in Ireland, the 4th of November, to deliver to Reginald, King of Man, his knight's fee, two tuns of wine,

and 120 quarters of corn, granted him every year by the charter of King John, his father.

If it be lawful to compare so small a prince with an English monarch, there never was a nearer resemblance than in the fortunes of these two: both had obtained their government by injustice to the lawful heirs; both lost it by their ill treatment of their people; both of mischievous, designing tempers; and both lived to feel the dreadful effects on their own heads. Only in this they differ: John had offended the clergy, Reginald his people. John had some years before made the most infamous submission to the Pope that ever was heard of in story. Reginald, to complete the similitude, must do the like, either because it was the fashion, or that he could hope for no assistance without it. Into such mean compliances men's interests betray them, when justified by a blind devotion, or a bad example.

THE ACT OF SURRENDER MADE BY REGINALD TO THE SEE OF ROME.

REGINALDUS REX INSULÆ MAN, CONSTITUIT SE VASALLUM SEDIS
ROMANÆ, ET EX INSULA SUA FACIT FEUDUM OBLATUM, LONDINI,
10 CAL. OCTOB., 1219.

SANCTISSIMO Patri et Domino Honorio Dei Gratiâ summo Pontifici, Reginaldus Rex Insularum, commendationem cum osculo pedum. Noverit sancta paternitas vestra, quod Nos, ut participes simus bonorum quæ fiunt in Ecclesia Rom.; juxta admonitionem et exhortationem dilecti patris Domini P. Norwicen electi, Cameraii et Legati vestri, dedimus et obtulimus nomine Ecclesiæ Romanæ, et vestro, et Catholicorum vestrorum success-

orum, Insulam nostram de Man, quæ ad nos jure hæreditario pertinet, et de quâ nulli tenemur aliquod servitium facere, et deinceps nos, et hæredes nostri in perpetuum tenebimus in feudum, dictam Insulam ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ, et faciemus ei per hoc homagium et fidelitatem, et in recognitionem Dominii, nomine census, nos et hæredes nostri in perpetuum annuatim solvemus Ecclesiæ Romanæ, duodecim Marcas Sterlingorum, in Anglia, apud Abbatiam de Furnes Cisterciensis Ordinis in festo Purificationis B. Mariæ. Et si non esset ibi aliquis ex parte vestra vel successorum vestrorum, deponentur dictæ duodecim Marcæ per nos et hæredes nostros penes Abbatem et Conventum, Ecclesiæ Romanæ nomine. Hanc donationem, et oblationem dictus Dominus Legatus recipit ad voluntatem et bene placitum vestrum, et post receptionem factam ab eo sic ipse Dominus Legatus dictam Insulam dedit mihi, et hæredibus meis in feudum perpetuo possidendam et tenendam nomine Ecclesiæ Romanæ. Et me inde per anulum aureum investivit, etc. Actum Lond., in domo Militiæ Templi, 10 cal. Octob., Anno Dom. Millesimo ducesimo decimo nono. Et ne super his aliquando possit dubitari, has literas fieri fecimus et sigillo nostro muniri.—
Codex juris Gentium Diplomaticus per Godefridum Gulielmum Liebnitzium, impressus Hannoveræ, 1693, fol. prodromus, pag. 5.

Whilst Reginald, by this infamous surrender, was endeavouring to recover his lost estate, his brother Olave for above two years enjoyed an undisturbed possession of the Government of the Isles; till at last compelled, by the disorder of affairs, to visit the remote parts of his scattered kingdom, being well attended by the nobility and soldiery, he left the Isle of Man exposed to the fury of his brother Reginald, who, about this time, returning from London after his submission to the Pope, embraced the opportunity, and, by the assistance of Allen, Lord of Galloway, and Thomas, Earl of Athol, landed a great army, with which he laid the whole south side waste, murdering all the men they met, burning all, even to the very churches, and committing all the inhumanities a tyrant, heated by resentment and revenge, could

invent, or the brutality of an army execute. Till at last, glutted with so much barbarity, or perhaps apprehending his brother Olave's return, he drew off his forces, and Allen, Lord of Galloway, left his bailiffs to collect the revenue; but Olave speedily returning drove away these collectors, and by all possible means endeavoured to recall such as had escaped the fury of Reginald, so that the country began to be repeopled, and the natives to settle themselves in peace and security. But the same year, in the midst of winter, in the dead of the night, Reginald (watching all opportunities to revenge himself) accompanied by the Lord of Galloway, with five ships only, came and burnt all the shipping belonging to his brother and the nobility of the Isles, then at anchor under St. Patriek's Isle (I suppose Peel Castle); after that, falling into Rannesway, now Derby Haven, he stayed there forty days, under pretence of seeking peace of his brother Olave, but, by all plausible insinuations and kind persuasions, debauched the whole south division to his service. Of so mutable a nature is the vulgar, that those very people he had so harassed, by burning their houses, murdering their kindred and relations, now publicly take arms in his defence, and declare they will die by him, if he is not restored to his moiety of the Kingdom of the Isles. Olave flies for protection to the men of the northern division, who resolutely defended his cause. The battle was fought at a place called the Tynwald, the public field of counsel and of arms; Reginald lost the day, and was himself slain in the heat of that action, though unknown to his brother, as all their histories testify. Thus fell this restless and ambitious soul, who for above thirty years had disquieted himself and his people. And as if fortune designed to double their miseries, during the very battle, certain freebooters utterly wasted all the south parts, as if his death were to complete all the calamities he had brought on them in his life. His body was carried by the monks of Rushen to the Abbey of Furness, and buried in a place formerly chosen by himself.

Olave, at last hoping to enjoy the fruits of so many labours

and so much justice, resolves on a voyage into Norway, Anno 1221, where it is probable, during the contention betwixt the brothers, the accustomed respect had not been paid. But before his arrival there the King of Norway had made a nobleman named Heusback King of the Isles, and gave him his own name, Hæo, who was slain as he was storming a certain castle in the Isle of Bute, and never reached this Island. Olave, therefore, returning into Man with Goddard, son of his brother Reginald, by consent of the people, the Kingdom of the Isles was divided betwixt them. Olave had Man allotted to him, and Goddard, going to his share, was slain in the Lewis. So that, at last, the whole Kingdom of the Isles devolved on Olave. Anno 1236 Henry the Third ⁽⁶⁹⁾ granted safe conduct to Olave, King of Man, and the same year gives him his commission, with forty marks, 100 quarters of corn, and five tuns of wine, for his homage and defence of the sea-coast, as long as he shall faithfully perform that service, which he enjoyed until the year 1237. He died on the 18th of June, in Peel Castle, lamented by his people, in a just old age, a Prince worthy of better times, a better kingdom, and better subjects. He lies buried in the Abbey of Rushen, and was succeeded by his son

Harrald, aged about fourteen years, of great hopes, and rare endowments, both of body and mind; but before he was well settled in his new Government (led either by the necessity of his affairs, or a youthful curiosity), he resolves on a progress through his whole Kingdom, which consisted of nearly three hundred islands, but dispersed, and many degrees remote. He left Log-land, his cousin, Custos Manniæ, who, it is probable, did not execute the trust with that fidelity as was expected; the King, therefore, the autumn following, sent three sons of Nell, ⁽⁶⁹⁾ viz., Dufgall, Thorquell, and Malemore, with his friend Joseph, to consult about his affairs. A general meeting was appointed the five-and-twentieth day following, at the Tynwald, their usual place of assembling for public affairs; but, instead of counsel, they fell to arms, the shortest way of ending controversies in

those days. Dufgall, Malemore, and Joseph fell in the quarrel; at which the King, greatly incensed, returned into Man the spring following; but Logland, apprehending his just displeasure, attempted to fly into Wales with Goddard, a younger son of Olave, but suffered shipwreck in his passage, with the young Prince and all his retinue. The power of the Kings of Norway had, to this time, been the terror of the northern parts of Europe; Harrauld had not paid that personal attendance at his Court, as had been expected. He, therefore, in the year 1238, sent Gospatrick, and Gilles-Christ, the son of MacKerthack, to seize the revenue of the Island for his own use; but Harrauld the year following took a voyage into Norway, where he carried himself with that discretion that, after more than two years' stay, he was restored to all the islands enjoyed by his ancestors, to him, his heirs, and successors, under the Broad Seal of Norway.

Harrauld, now secure of the inheritance of his predecessors, in the year 1242 returned into Man, where he was received by the universal applause and good wishes of the people, which he endeavoured to improve by all those public diversions which render youthful princes agreeable to their subjects. But, considering that nothing secures a lasting happiness like peace abroad, he entered into strict alliances with all the neighbouring Princes of Scotland and Ireland; and to secure himself of the good affection of the monarchy of England, he procured letters patent, dated the 31st of Henry the Third, by which he was permitted to come into England, where he was welcomed with all the public compliments due to his character. He received the order of knighthood from the King (which in those days was never offered but to persons of great birth and merit), and in all places was entertained with a generosity which is natural to the English, and at last nobly presented. In the same year he returned into his own country, where, as if his good fortune was at once showering down all the blessings of this life upon his head, he received an invitation into Norway, whither he went, attended by Lawrence, late Archdeacon, now Bishop Elect of Man, with a numerous

train of nobility and ladies, and married the King's daughter. But, after a long and noble entertainment, with all the festivity usual on such public occasions, returning into Man, he was unhappily driven upon the coast of Radland, where he suffered shipwreck, and perished with his beautiful young Queen, his bishop, and almost all his nobility, and the ladies. A sad conviction, that the highest felicities this world affords are too often but a more solemn introduction to our ruin, which was unhappily verified in his brother and successor,

Reginald, who assumed the Government Anno 1249, on the 6th of May, ⁽⁷⁰⁾ and the 30th of the same month was slain in the meadows near the Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Kirk Christ Rushen, with all his party, by a knight called Ivar; whether the cause of their quarrel was love or revenge, is not mentioned, or whether he had assumed the Government without the consent of the people. Reginald left one daughter, very young, named Mary, who in the year 1292 claimed the Kingdom of the Isles, and did homage to our King Edward the First in Perth, or St. John's Town. Though we do not find in the whole Norwegian line any pretence to a female succession, yet this gave ground for a plea near four hundred years after, upon which sentence was pronounced in favour of the heirs general of Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, against his brother, Earl William; but it was afterwards settled by Parliament in favour of the males, for during the race of Goddard Crownan three qualifications seemed requisite for the descent of the Government—a male succession, the consent of the people, and the approbation of the King of Norway, who was then acknowledged for sovereign; and where either of these was wanting, it generally proved fatal to the prince and people. Olave had left a third son, named Magnus, who probably was not in the island at his brother's death, so that Harrald, the son of Goddard Don, grandson of Reginald, for a time usurped the name of King, and dispossessed all the nobility depending on the successors of Olave, of their employments and commands; but the King of Norway sent for him,

and made him prisoner for his unjust intrusion. The same year John, the son of Dufgall, took the name of King, and brought with him Magnus, the lawful heir; but the people taking it ill that Magnus was not named (for it is probable John came by the appointment, or connivance at least of the King of Norway), drove him and his followers from their coast, of whom the greater part perished by shipwreck.

Magnus, therefore, the year following, 1252, came into Man, and was chosen King by the universal consent of the people; but finding it unsafe to trust to that title only, he the next year ⁽⁷¹⁾ went into Norway, where, after two years' attendance, he was declared King of the Isles, and the title confirmed unto him, his heirs, and successors, Anno 1254. These little Princes had a nice game to play, as they lay surrounded with so many potent states. The power of the Kings of Norway began to decline, and the Scottish, from whom these islands had been taken, to recover strength; so that during the last vacancy they designed to recover them, had not the King died in the midst of the preparation. The monarchy of England was now almost their only refuge; therefore, in the year 1256 Magnus resolved on a voyage to that Court, where he was honourably received by King Henry the Third, ⁽⁷²⁾ as his brother Harrald had been some years before, and knighted by him, as the greatest compliment which could be paid to strangers by our monarchs in those days of chivalry. The year following Richard, Bishop of the Isles, consecrated the Abbey Church of St. Mary, Rushen, which, though begun one hundred and thirty years before, and in that time had been the repository of many of their kings, it is probable was not finished till this time. In the year 1263 Aquinus, King of Norway, resolving to avenge the affront the Scottish nation had designed, made a descent upon that kingdom; but was so warmly received by their new King, Alexander, a generous and active prince, that he was forced to take shelter in the Oreades, where he died at Kirkwall. This was the last feeble effort of that nation, which had spread its arms over all Europe for five hundred years past;

it had given kings to England and Sicily, dukes to Normandy, and held the sovereignty of these isles for near two hundred years; but by continual throwing off such vast numbers of the natives, had so weakened itself, that some time after it became subject to the more potent Kingdom of Denmark. Thus nations have their periods as well as persons and families, and the most enterprising generally destroy themselves soonest by their own ambition. This little Kingdom, deprived of the protection of Norway, could not support itself much longer, for Magnus dying Anno 1265, in his Castle of Rushen, was buried in the Abbey Church he had lately caused to be dedicated, and left no child behind him. He was the ninth and last of the race of Goddard Crownan, who for 200 years had enjoyed the name of kings, but were, in truth, little better than lieutenants to the Crown of Norway; and their inheritanee became an insensible addition to the Kingdom of Scotland, and rather took away an evil than conferred a good; as may be affirmed with greater justice of the accession of that whole nation to the monarchy of England: for though the addition of neighbouring countries may increase a territory, yet different laws, interests, and religions rarely cement themselves into a well compacted or united state.

ESSAY III.

FROM THE

SCOTCH CONQUEST TO THE SETTLEMENT
UNDER THE HOUSE OF DERBY.

ALEXANDER, King of Seotland, informed of the death of Magnus, began to seize such of the out-isles as lay most commodious for him, while the affairs of this little Kingdom were wholly distracted. But Magnus, King of Norway, son of Aquinus, thinking to apply some remedy to them, sent his chancellor into Seotland, with offers to surrender the Isles of Arran and Bute, on condition he should peaceably enjoy the remainder. Alexander generously rejected the offer, with a protestation he would win or lose them all; and, in pursuance of it, began to reduce them singly. But the Manks tradition informs us that the widow of Magnus, a woman haughty, intriguing, lewd, and secretly in love with the Knight Ivar, who by the death of Reginald had cleared her own way to the Kingdom, now thought him the fittest person to supply the vacancy. There was no lawful successor, except the daughter of Reginald, and she a child. The danger from Seotland seemed pressing; but what will not love and the temptations of a crown persuade men to? Ivar, therefore, in the vigour of his age, gay, generous, popular, the

boldest, the bravest, the lewdest, and the best of all the natives, one that had virtues enough to save, and vices enough to undo a nation, readily embraced the offer, and Mary was secretly conveyed into England, with all the public deeds and charters, by those who had the care of her, equally fearing the danger from abroad and at home. Ivar vigorously prepares for the defence of his new acquired Government, and at least resolves to deserve, if not enjoy the Crown. But the Isle of Man could do little singly with the more potent Kingdom of Scotland; for Alexander, having now reduced all the out-isles, sends a numerous army under Alexander of Peasely and John Comyne, who landed at Rannesway, in the year 1270. Ivar, though much inferior in number (as being deprived of all assistance from abroad), received them with a resolution natural to the Manks nation; stoutly he fought, and as bravely fell with the expiring liberty of his country, and with him five hundred thirty-seven of the flower of the people. In memory of it this distich was composed, which, though it passed for wit in that age, is hardly to be reconciled to sense in this :—

“L decies, X ter, et pente duo cecidere,
Mannica gens de te damna futura cave.”

This makes up the number 537.

Thus the Kingdom of the Isles was wholly reduced, in which the King of Scotland had spent four years—viz., from 1266 to 1270; which is the only means I can find of reconciling Mr. Cambden to himself, (73) and agrees exactly with his Manks tradition. The King of Norway now seeing the Kingdom of the Isles lost, sent his chancellor a second time, either to redemand it, or compound for a tribute; the first was absolutely rejected, but, to end further disputes, a peace was concluded under several articles, of which the payment of 4,000 marks ready money, and 100 yearly, by way of tribute, were the principal; and no notice taken of Mary, the last of the family of Goddard Crownan, which had held the Government two hundred years, and were now succeeded by

Alexander, King of Scotland, who enjoyed it by a mixed title of arms and purchase, and governed by his thanes, or lieutenants, of whom the first was Goddard Mac Mannus, too honest a man to make a good governor in his prince's sense, who, for refusing to be concerned in the murder of three brethren descended from the former race, was removed, after he had held this station four years. To him succeeded Allen, a man that understood his King's pleasure better than how to govern his people well, imperious, cruel, hard-hearted, inexorable, too much of the bully for the governor, and too little for the soldier. The people, who till this time had followed their hereditary kings with a cheerful, active obedience, by which they were enabled not only to secure themselves at home, but often to make conquests abroad, instead of the generous fierceness of their ancestors, now degenerated into a sullen, supine, passive negligence, and their only study was how they might legally disobey. This increased the thane's severity: for the more a people suffer, the more men of brutish and cruel souls insult. Till at last, grown desperate by their miseries, the natives universally rose against the Scotch nation, with a resolution either to extirpate them, or fall to a man themselves; but by the interposition of their good bishop (to whom the Manks tradition gives the name of Drito), they agreed to end the dispute by a combat of thirty on a side. The thane, who had been the occasion of the quarrel, as he stood spectator of the fight, was pressed to death by the multitude. The Manksmen lost the day, and their thirty combatants, with but five-and-twenty of the Scots. This seems to be the original of an ancient law for deciding controversies by prowess. This last struggle of the Manks nation made the Scottish King sensible of his false politics. He therefore sent over

Maurice Okerfair, a wise and worthy magistrate, one whose prudence made him revered in peace, as his honour in arms rendered him terrible in war, dreadful to the stubborn, tender to the poor, and merciful to the afflicted, in whom the exactness of the soldier gave an air and vigour to the laws, and the fineness

of the gentleman softened their rigour in the execution. By an excellent mixture of moderation and severity, he made it his business to allay the animosities of the two factions, and so far succeeded, that he caused thirty cross-marriages to be celebrated in one day. He held the Government three years, and died 1282, equally lamented by both nations; and was succeeded by one

Brennus, who pursued the gentle and moderate principles of his predecessor. He taught the people the art of fishing; but was himself soon after slain in some rencounter with the Highlanders, Anno 1287. He was succeeded by

Donnald, a person of great birth and reputation. How long he held the Government is uncertain, for in the year 1289 King Edward, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ in the eighteenth year of his reign, gave the Isle of Man, &c., to

Walter de Huntercomb, for upon the surrender of the Island by Richard de Burgo, who probably had been entrusted with it by one of the competitors of the Crown of Scotland, ⁽⁷⁵⁾ King Edward the First, in the eighteenth year of his reign, committed the custody of this Island to the aforesaid Walter de Huntercomb, a very brave and honest man, who the year following, by his master's order, surrendered it to John Baliol, King of Scotland, with a salvo, notwithstanding, to King Edward's right, and that of all other pretenders. ⁽⁷⁶⁾ Whether he was ever possessed of it doth not appear, for the Scottish nation was at this time greatly embroiled by the factions of Bruce and Baliol, competitors for that crown; and King Edward chosen as arbitrator of their differences, and being at Perth, or St. John's Town, Mary, the last of the former family, made her claim, and offered to do her homage for the Isle of Man; but was answered, she must claim it of the King of Scotland, who then held it. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

It appears, by petition to King Edward I. in Parliament, Anno 33 of his reign, that while this Isle was in the hands of John Baliol, King of Scots, Mary, the wife of John de Waldeboef, presenting her right to the Isle of Man, was answered, she

must prosecute it before the King of Scotland, who then held it; but she dying in the prosecution, the right descended to William, her son and heir; and from him to John his son, who then claimed the Isle of Man, and the adjacent isles, as true and lawful heir, and was answered, "Let it be heard in the King's Bench, and justice done."

In the thirty-fifth year of the aforesaid Prince's reign, there is a memorable record, extant in Mr. Prinn, of our King's right and seizure of the Isle of Man for his use.

King Edward I., soon after dying, was succeeded by his son, the second of that name, who made no less than three grants in one year to so many of his favourites—Percy de Gaveston, Gilbert de Mac Gascall, and last to Henricus de Bello-Monte; the grant to the last is to be seen at large in Mr. Challoner. My Lord Cook likewise tells us of one Symon Montacute, who had intruded in the sixth of Edward the Second, for which he was attached to answer at the suit of the King, but the proceedings thereupon we find not; but how he came by it, the following instrument will declare:—

INSEQUENTEM CHARTAM EX CHARTULARIO DE CASTLE-ACRE, P. 180,

CITAT ROGERUS DODSWORTH, COLLECT., VOL. 30, P. 114.

AUFRICA DE CONNOGHT heres terre de Man, omnibus amicis et hominibus suis ejusdem terre salutem et dilectionem. Cum nos de bonâ et gratâ voluntate nostrâ dederimus et concessimus totam hereditatem nostram, et jus nostrum in terrâ predictâ de Man, nobili et potenti viro Simoni de Montecauto, Militi, sicut plenius continetur in quadam cartâ quam nos sibi inde fieri fecimus, vos diligenter rogamus, et vobis omnibus mandamus, quatenus predictum dominum Simonem tanquam dominum vestrum proprium benevolenter recipiatis, facientes etiam sibi quicquid nobismet ipsis facere volueritis, et etiam de jure facere debueritis si nos fuissetus inter vos præsentes. In ejus rei testimonium hæc presentes literas nostras vobis fieri fecimus patentes, sigillo nostro sigillatas. Datum apud Brugeswater, in comitatu Somersetensi, die Jovis vigiliâ Annunciationis

Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, Anno Dom. MCCCmo quinto. (33 Ed. I.)
 —*In dorso istius Chartæ, Litera Donationis Domini del Ylle de Man.*

Upon the dispossessing of Henry de Bello-Monte, the eustody thereof was granted to Gilbert de Mac Gascall during pleasure, who, having expended one thousand two hundred fifteen pounds, three shillings, and fourpence in defence of it against the Scots, and likewise laid out three hundred eighty pounds, seventeen shillings, and sixpence in victuals, which he delivered to the governor of the Castle of Carlisle to victual it against the Scots, both these sums were allowed him upon his petition, and ordered to be paid.

It is probable King Robert Bruce ended the controversy, who, in the year 1313, sat down before the Castle of Rushen, which for six months was obstinately defended by one Dingay Dowyll, though in whose name we do not find. Some ascribe this action to Edward Bruce, brother to the King. Not long after it was granted to Robert Randolph, Earl of Murry, during whose government, in the year 1316, Richard le Mandeville, with a numerous train of Irish, landed at Rannesway on Ascension-day, demanding victuals and money, which being denied them, they divided themselves into two troops, and under the hill Warefield (now Barrowl) found the natives drawn up; but their spirits so debased by their loss of liberty and frequent change of masters, that they made little or no resistance. So much it is a prince's interest to have his people believe they have something worth defending.

The conquerors grievously spoiled the whole Island and Abbey of Rushen, and after a month's stay returned into Ireland. After this, the Scotch writers tell us of a grant to the Duke of Albany, the year uncertain; and lastly to Martholine, the King's almoner, who was sent over to take care of the business of religion and reformation of manners, then wholly degenerate. He wrote against witchcraft (a practice too frequent in those days), and, for the better circulation of business, is said to have minted a

certain copper coin with the King's effigies on the one side, and a cross on the other side, with this inscription, "*Crux est Christianorum gloria.*" To say truth, we have so little certainty of those times, that we rather expose their ignorance than inform ourselves. Only this is certain of all hands, that

In the seventh of Edward II. this Island was retaken by the Scots, and John de Ergarda, a potent man in this Island, and his family driven from thence, after great losses sustained, into Ireland; whereupon the King writ to his justice, chancellor, and treasurer of Ireland, to allow him a competent maintenance, who soon after returning with some forces, expelled the Scots, and restored the King's authority; upon which the King writ to his officers in Ireland to allow him his expenses, and a competent maintenance for himself, his family, and soldiers. *Teste, the King, Anno octavo Regni sui.*

Sir William Montacute, in the year 1340, conquered this Island from the Scots. Mr. Cambden says he was descended from the ancient Kings of Man; but the Manks tradition tells us expressly he was married to Mary, daughter to William Waldeboef (who entered his claim in Parliament in the thirty-third year of Edward the First), and consequently grand-daughter to Mary, the last of the family of Goddard Crownan. This lady coming into England with her grandmother's deeds and charters, cast herself at the feet of King Edward the Third. That generous Prince not only gave her his protection, but married her to Sir William Montacute, whom Speed styles the chief star in the firmament of England, for he was magnanimous, affable, active, generous, even to a fault, and his merits had acquired him the esteem of the greatest of our English monarchs. The King gave him both soldiers and shipping, to prosecute his lady's right, which he did so successfully, that in a short time he reduced the Island from the Scottish Government; and the Manks tradition says that excellent Prince caused him to be crowned and styled King of Man, Anno 1344, according to Daniel and Stow. But, as the gaining a man's right often costs him more than it is

worth, he had contracted so vast a debt that he was forced to mortgage the Island to Anthony Beek, Bishop of Durham, styled Patriarch of Jerusalem, for seven years, a proud, busy, crafty, covetous prelate, of little good nature, but abundance of grace; and as usurers generally gripe hard when they have got possession, he obtained a second grant from Richard the Second for his life.⁽⁷⁸⁾ After which, this Island devolved on William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who Anno 1393 sold it to Sir William Seroop, chamberlain to the King, as appears by record:—

“*Wilhelmus le Seroop emit de domino Wilhelmo Montacuto Insulam Euboniæ, id est Manniæ. Est nempe jus ipsius Insulæ; ut quisquis illius sit Dominus, Rex vocetur, cui etiam fas est corona aurea coronari.*”

This Sir William Seroop, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, had all the vices of a great statesman—subtle, fawning, false, designing, timorous, unjust, covetous, and ambitious, and, to support his own authority, misled a weak prince into a separate interest from his people, which in the end proved the ruin of them both; for the nobility, not able to support his insolence, rose against the King, though unsuccessfully, among whom the great Earl of Warwick, a true maintainer of the English liberties, was banished to the Isle of Man, but soon after recalled; for the Duke of Lancaster (afterwards King Henry IV.) landing in England, was universally received by the nobility and people, and Sir William Seroop, Earl of Wiltshire, had his head struck off without any formal process, for misgoverning the King and kingdom; and the Island was granted by King Henry IV. to Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, upon condition he should carry the Lancaster Sword, with which he was girt when he entered England, on his left shoulder at his own coronation, and his successors the Kings of England for ever. This earl was a hot, enterprising, haughty, and ambitious man, a zealous asserter of the power of the nobility, for which he fell under an attainder, but was not long after restored to all his lands and honours, the Isle of Man only excepted, of which he was deprived

by Act of Parliament. At first the Island was ordered to be seized into the hands of Sir John Stanley ⁽⁷⁹⁾ and Sir William Stanley, for the King's use only; but in the sixth of Henry IV. the King made a grant to Sir John Stanley for life, in the month of October, and on the 6th of the ensuing April Sir John delivered up the said grant to be cancelled in Chancery; and the King, in consideration of the said surrender, re-granted the Island to him, his heirs and successors, with the Castle and Peel of Man, and all royalties, regalities, franchises, &c., with the patronage of the bishopric, in as full and ample a manner as it had been granted to any former lord, to be held of the Crown of England *per homagium legium*, paying to the King, his heirs and successors, a cast of falcons at their coronation, after such homage made in lieu of all demands, customs, &c., whatsoever, An. 1403.

The English nation had rendered itself famous for its valour during the reign of the First and Third of our Edwards; but in that of King Richard, a prince of no martial genius, the ancient military honour was very much debased. Sir John Stanley was almost the only chevalier of that age; he had visited all the Courts of Europe as far as Constantinople, where the Manks tradition tells us wonders of his triumphs and his loves; at last, returning into England, he was followed by a French combatant, who challenged the whole English nation. Sir John accepted the challenge, fought, and killed him in the King's presence. This raised his reputation among the sons of Mars, and no doubt gave him the secret good wishes of the ladies; among these was the heiress of Latham, beautiful, young, and rich, which justly rendered her the envy of her own sex, and the adoration of the other. Sir John declared himself her knight; for her he fought, and every combat was a new addition to his triumphs; at last he married her, with the unwilling consent of her father, who was that famous child that had been found in the eagle's nest. The story thus:—The Lord of Latham and his lady, being childless, as they were walking in the park, heard a child crying in an eagle's nest; they immediately ordered their servants to

search the eyry, who presented them with a beautiful boy, in rich swaddling clothes. The good old lady looked on it as a present sent from heaven, ordered it to be carefully educated, and gave it the surname of Latham. He was knighted by King Edward the Third by the name of Sir Oskatell Latham, and left the sole heir of that vast estate. He had only one daughter, named Isabella, who by marriage brought the honours of Latham and Knowsley, with many other lordships, to Sir John Stanley, whose youth gave him all those fine qualities that compose a generous hero, an exact courtier, and a just lover, and whose age ripened him into a profound statesman, a wise patriot, and an honest politician. He was by King Henry the Fourth made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, a post, as of great trust, so of great hazard in those unsettled times; so that we do not find he was ever in this Island, or how long he was master of it. He was likewise treasurer of the household to the King. It is probable he died Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Anno 1413; a man truly great, and a honour to his country. He was succeeded by his son,

Sir John Stanley, King and Lord of Man, as I find him styled in our earliest records, for before his time we have none extant. He came into this Isle, Anno 1417, which I find to be dated "Anno quarto regalitatis nostræ," which was the ancient style of our court rolls. It is probable he had been here in his father's time to receive the homage of the people, and left one John Letherland lieutenant, ⁽⁸⁰⁾ or governor; but now returning in a mature age, and wisely weighing that a just regulation of the laws are a lasting happiness to a people, and the best security of a prince. In this important case he consults their oraculous deemsters, deep-sighted and knowing in the laws, and how to make them speak their Lord's pleasure. By their advice, the whole body of the people were convened at a place in the centre of the country, called the Tynwald, where every creature, even the halt and blind, were to come, and receive the King of Man's pleasure. This court is held *sub dio*, after the ancient manner of

all the northern nations, where the Lord is placed on the top of a little rising, or barrow, surrounded by his people, who, with an awful silence, wait the future fate of their nation in the promulgation of their laws, which from the birth of time had been looked up in the breasts of their magistrates. First, therefore, they declare to him the orders of the assembly, which I shall give you from the original record in the ancient English of that age:— (81)

“ Our doughtful and gracious Lord, this is the constitution of old time, the which we have given in our days, how ye should be govern’d on their Tynwald day. First, you shall come thither in your Royal array, as a king ought to do, by the prerogatives and royalties of the land of Man, and upon the hill of Tynwald sit in a chair, covered with a royal cloath and quishions, and your visage unto the east, and your sword before you, holden with the point upward, your barons in the third degree sitting beside you, and your beneficed men and your deemsters before you sitting; and your clerk, your knights, esquires, and yeomen about you in the third degree; and the worthiest men in your land to be call’d in before your deemsters, if you will ask any thing of them, and to hear the government of your land, and your will; and the commons to stand without the eirele of the hill, with three clerks in their surplices; and your deemsters shall make call in your coroner of Glanfaba, and he shall call in all the coroners of Man, and their yardes in their hands, with their weapons upon them, either sword or ax; and the moars, that is to wit, of every sheading. Then the chief coroner—that is, the coroner of Glanfaba—shall make a fenece, upon pain of life or lymme, that no man make any disturbance or stir in the time of Tynwald, or any murmur or rising in the King’s presenee, upon pain of hanging and drawing. And then shall let your barons and all other know you to be King and Lord; and what time you were here you receiv’d the land as heir-apparent in your father’s days, and all your barons of Man, with your worthies men and commons, did you faith and fealtie, and in as much as you are, by

the grace of God, now King and Lord of Man, ye will now that your commons come unto you, and shew their charters how they hold of you, and your barons that made no faith nor fealtie unto you that they make now. And if any of your barons be out of the land, they shall have space of forty days after that they are called in to come shew whereby they hold and claim lands and tenements within your land of Man, and to make faith and fealtie, if wind and weather serve them; or else to seize their temporalities into your hands. And then to proceed in your matters, whatsoever you have there to do in felonie or treason, or other matters that touch the Government of your land of Man."

Having thus settled the order of the assembly, which, from the place, they call the Tynwald, they next proceed to acquaint him with the duty of the people, as their keeping watch and ward (a caution very necessary in those troublesome times), the power and authority of his lieutenant, that all his deeds be firm and stable; that no man depart the Island without his license; then for regulating his garrisons, with his dues upon fishing, carriages, and his bailiffs' duties; the power of his coroners, with several rules for letting his estate (which I shall treat of in its proper place); that his council are in all things to move for his profit; and conclude in a most severe sentence against treason, as drawing, hanging, and quartering, without any benefit of inquest. These are the oldest records we have extant, and may truly be called the original of their laws, to which the people, by a universal acclamation, gave their assent. His affairs called him soon after into England; but, considering that nothing tends more to the improvement of a country than a just and secure tenure, which has since met with divers changes equally injurious to the Lord and people, he left Thurstan de Tyldesly, a wise and severe magistrate, and Roger de Haysnap, his commissioners, with instructions to settle the people. It is more than probable that Goddard Crownan (notwithstanding his covenant upon his conquest) had given them some sort of fixed tenure, but upon the reduction of the Island by Alexander, King of

Seotland, it is likely it fell upon the Seottish bottom, where the grand charter only is fixed, the rest loose and uncertain, by which means the country was laid waste, the soil impoverished, while it was nobody's interest to improve it. In the last Tynwald it had been given for law, that no man should occupy the Lord's land, but he should pay the full value. And for the better security of the Lord and tenant, four able and sufficient men were sworn in every parish, who were called the Setting Inquest, to provide tenants for all such estates as were then unoccupied. These were sworn to deal uprightly betwixt the Lord and his people, and for that time they were only tied for such a term of years as they could agree; and if they placed an insolvent tenant, they were to pay the rent themselves; and such tenants so placed the May following had their names entered in the court rolls after the manner of the English copyholds, and the occupancy given them by the delivery of a straw, which was the custom of all bargains in England in those ages, from whence our lawyers use the word "stipulate," because the contract was ratified *per traditionem stipulæ*. In the year 1422 there was an after-law made, that there should be no abatement made of the Lord's rent, except in great necessity. These were thought great points in those days, and the people cheerfully sat down on those lands (which by other future laws were ordered to descend from father to son, or, for want of such son, to the eldest daughter, or next of kin), and began to build, and make some small improvements, to promote which the better, there was an order made, which at least allows, if not commands, the enclosing their respective farms; and the Lords, for their farther encouragement, complimented them with the kind words of title, descent, inheritance, heirship, that the people might believe their country worth improving and defending; so that by degrees they came to be reputed customary tenants, and paid only a small gratuity—viz., a single rent on the change of every Lord, instead of fines; (81) and the better to secure this tenant's right, and prevent those inconveniences that always attend ill husbandry, there was an

after-law made, that no man should sell, mortgage, or alienate any such lands without the consent of the Lord or his officers, upon penalty of three pounds to the Lord, and the vacating of any such bargain. But if, notwithstanding these precautions, any such farm fell to decay, proclamation was made three Sundays for the next of kin to challenge his tenant-right; after that it was free for the best chapman, or if none such was found, the eldest son of some better farm was bound to uphold the rent; therefore, the farmer's son is called the Lord's treasure; but upon the taking possession of his own farm, he had free liberty to leave or retain them both at pleasure.

The commission determined with the year, and John Fasakerly, Esq., was sent over as Lieutenant, Anno 1418, under whom we have several odd law cases, affairs being yet unsettled; but Sir John Stanley now resolved to put a finishing stroke to his new Government, and returned into Man Anno 1422. It is probable he had sent John Walton, his Lieutenant, to prepare things for his own coming over; but whether the people suspected him of any ill designs toward them, as frequently happens in all changes of government, or whether it was the effect of pure brutality, or the fear of novelty, many of the best of the Island rose against him; so that Sir John Stanley, instead of finding the country in a posture of receiving him, saw nothing but disorder and confusion. He therefore resolves on another convention of the people, which was held, as follows from the original record, at Reneurling, in Kirk Michael:—In the which Court the Bishop of Man was called to come to do his faith and fealty unto the Lord, as the law asketh, and to show by what claim he holdeth his lands and tenements within the Lordship of Man; the which came and did his faith to the Lord. The Abbot also of Rushen, and Prioress of Duglass, were called to do their fealty, and to show their claims, holdings, lands, and tenements within the Lordship of Man; the which came, and did their faith and fealty to the Lord. The Prior of Whiterne, in Galloway, the Abbot of Bangor, the Abbot of Sabel, and the Prior of St. Bede, in Copeland, were

called in, and came not; therefore they were deemed by the Deemsters that they should come in their proper persons within forty days, and if they came not, then all their temporalities to be seized into the Lord's hands. After this, he confirmed all such laws as had been reduced to writing. In the same Court all such as rose against the lieutenant were sentenced to death, according to law, without any formal trial by inquests; but the number being great, those that submitted to the Lord's mercy were pardoned. The same year, on the vigil of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, he convenes them a second time at his Castle of Rushen. The points of treason and the homage of his barons had been concerted in former assemblies; they now proceeded to the outlawries, and the several branches of his regality; to name them all would be endless; I shall only mention some few, of which one, relating to aliens, seems very particular:—

“If any alien die in your land of Man, and maketh not faith and fealty, whose tenant soever he be, the Lord shall have his goods; and if such person maketh a testament, it standeth of no force.”

This law hath been repealed by the present Lord, as inhospitable, and prejudicial to commerce. Another, against sanctuaries, seems very remarkable, considering those times:—

“If any man has done any point of treason, and taketh sanctuary, the sanctuary shall not avail him by the law of Man.”

The Lord is sole patron of the bishopric and all parsonages and vicarages, three only excepted, which are under the patronage of the Bishop.

In the ancientest of our records he is styled “Metropolitan and Chief of the Holy Church;” therefore no lapse can be taken against him for not presenting in due time, for it is his prerogative. (82)

All fines and forfeited bonds in the Spiritual Court are his by his prerogative.

There lies no appeal to the Archbishops of York; but if any person is aggrieved by the sentence of the Spiritual Court, he may ap-

peal to the Staff of Government, or the Lord; and if the Lord take the case to himself, or commission his prime officers to determine it, it is called "The Lord's Prerogative Royal;" and the person, though under excommunication, is to be delivered up to the Lord. In these senses only prerogative can be properly used; and it seems strange a word so invidious, and that makes so much noise in the world, should be so little understood.

By the advice of his Deemsters and four-and-twenty Keys, he may make such laws as tend to the good government of his country, and repeal others. But this seems remarkable: he has power of rejecting any person from serving as a member of the assembly, ⁽⁸³⁾ according to a decree made this meeting, as appears by record:—

"Also we give for law that there were never twenty-four Keys in certainty since they were first called Taxiaki. These were twenty-four frecholders—to wit, eight in the out-isles, and sixteen in your land of Man. And that was in King Orry's days; and since they have not been in certainty; but if a strange point will come, which the Lieutenant will have reserved to the Tynwald twice in the year; and by the leave of the Lieutenant, the Deemsters there to call of the best to his Council in that point as he thinks fit to give judgment; and without the Lord's will none of the twenty-four Keys to be."

Lastly, the Lord hath power of holding courts in his own name; may hang and draw in his own jurisdiction; and chiefly can pardon for life.

His right of Admiralty was likewise asserted in this assembly, as wrecks, royal fish, &c., are his by his regality. But this I find more at large in my Lord Cook, from the report of Kellway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards in the eleventh of Henry the Eighth.

It was found, by inquisition, that Thomas, Earl of Derby, *tempore mortis suæ*, was seized of the Isle of Man, upon which Anne, Countess Dowager of Derby, by her council sued to have dower of the said Isle; to which Blundell, Chief Judge, *ex assensu*,

Brook, Fitz-Herbert, and of all other the counail of the King, said that the inquiry was merely void ; for that the Isle of Man is no parcel of the realm of England, nor do they use the law of England ; and it is like unto Tournay, when it was in the King of England's hands ; and unto Normandy or Gascoigne, which are merely out of the Chaneery of England, which is the place, and no other, to endow the widow of the King's tenants. But the Isle of Wight is made pareel of the county of Southampton, and Wales and Ireland are parcels of the realm, and a writ of error or judgment given there erroneously, lieth here in England ; but for such an erroneous judgment given in Man, Gascoigne, and Calliee, no writ of error lieth in England, for they be no pareels of the realm of England. This ease being read at the council table to all the lords, it gave full satisfaction to the whole board ; that the Admiral of England had not to do in the ports of Man, but that the Earl of Derby is Lord of Man and Admiral of the Isle.

It may not be improper here to remark that Reginald, who was the first that submitted to the Crown of England, did it upon express condition that the admiralty of those seas should belong to him ; which gives a fair origin to the Earl of Derby to claim the same jurisdiction.

Besides all this, he is absolute Lord of the soil, and immediate landlord of every man's estate (some few barons execepted), so that, reserving his homage to the Crown of England, no prince hath a more full and ample authority.

These points established, he next proceeeds to settle the eivil polity of his Government, of which his officers make the principal figure, and his Lieutenant, or Governor, his own immediate representative.

It had been provided by the third law they ever passed, that all his deeds be firm and stable, he hath power to call a Tynwald when he pleases, or any other court, to swear inquests, and no court to be called without his warrant.

He is sole Chaneellor, and if any man rise against him sitting

in court, or any other place where he represents the Lord's person, or constrain him to hold a Tynwald to put down the Lord's prerogative, he is a traitor. He hath likewise the sole military power, may place or displace all officers in garrison or otherwise, and whoever robs him of his horse or arms, or beats his servants either in his presence or forty yards of his person, or breaketh house on him, or any of the Lord's council, in his presence, is a traitor.

Whoever speaks ill of him, forfeits ten pounds and his ears; whoever falsifies his token (which, by peculiar custom of the country, is made on a slate-stone, with one or two letters of his name, and has the same force as the Lord Chief Justice's warrant in England), forfeits three pounds to the Lord.

He hath a superintendency in all courts, as well ecclesiastical as civil, and may fine either bishop or archdeacon, or any of their officers acting contrary to law.

Sometimes, besides the Governor, there hath been a Captain General, but I suppose this only in cases of great emergency.

The next officer is the Receiver-General, or Treasurer of the Island; there were formerly two, one for each division. He hath the charge of the revenue; he is one of the Lord's standing council; pays all salaries of the civil list; but if he paid any bills without the comptroller's allowance, he formerly forfeited his salary, now he only runs the hazard of having it disallowed. This office is executed by commission.

The next officer is the Comptroller. He is one of the Lord's council; always sits with the receiver, both on receipts and payments; he charges and discharges him, and all accountants, and is one of the auditors of the general accounts; in all offences, capital or otherwise, committed within the garrison, he may impanel a jury of soldiers; sits sole judge, although it be in trials for life. He is likewise clerk of the market, and ought to regulate weights and measures. He is head searcher, and hath his deputies in every port. He is Clerk of the Rolls, and hath the custody of the records, and enters all pleas in the several courts,

whether they be the Lord's, Bishop's, Abbot's, and Baron's, &c., and has his yearly fee in each of these courts.

The next officer is the Water-Bailiff, who is in the nature of Admiral of the Island. He holds Admiral Courts on all emergencies; he may impanel juries, arrest ships on any complaint, and sits judge in things relating to marine affairs. He has likewise the care of the customs, fishing, wrecks, and is one of the Lord's standing council.

The last officer is the Attorney-General, who is likewise one of the Lord's Council; sits in all courts to plead for the Lord's profit, as suing for forfeitures, seizing and disposing all felons' goods. He likewise takes care of all deodands, waifs, estrays, forfeitures, and casualties, and disposeth of them to the best for the Lord's profit, for which he stands yearly accountable at the audit. He is likewise to plead the causes of all widows and orphans, they giving him twopence for his fee.

All the above-mentioned officers act by commission during the Lord's pleasure, and had formerly their diet in the family, where a constant table was kept both for the officers and soldiers; they are justices of peace by their places, and are in all things to move for the Lord's profit; and the Governor may call the said Council to his assistance as often as he thinks fitting or need require, either for service of the Lord or country.

The Deemsters are the first popular magistrates, and never were reputed part of the family. They sit judges in all courts, either for life or property, whether the court be held in the Lord's name or any of his barons. They have always been two—one for each division of the Isle; they are styled in the ancient court rolls, *Justiciarii Domini Regis*; whether they have their names from the old word to *deem*, or think, or to *doom*, or condemn, I cannot be positive. By the advice of the twenty-four Keys, they may, in all new and emergent causes, declare what the law is, and all such laws so declared were formerly called "breast laws;" and in some measure they seem to keep up the old authority of the Druids.

By the aneient law, if any man accused the Deemster of mal-administration, he forfeited life and limb. The process used by them is the same with the Governor, viz., a slate-stone, with one or two letters of their names made on it, for which formerly they had certain fees due to them, as likewise a share in all felons' goods; and to eounterfeit or misapply this token or process, is highly penal in their laws.

After the Deemsters, the Twenty-four Keys are the representatives of the country, and in some cases serve as the Grand Inquest of the nation. They are the last traverse in all cases of common law, are present at all trials for life, and, in eonjunction with the Governor and officers, make the legislative power of the nation. By a very ancient law it was provided that none of the Lord's feed-men should serve as one of the Twenty-four Keys.

They were aneiently called *Taxiari*, as appears by a statute quoted in the Lord's prerogative; and for the manner of their election in those ages, you will find in the succeeding Tynwald. Subordinate to these are the Coroners of each sheading, or subdivision, who act in the nature of sheriffs.

Each parish hath likewise an officer called a Moar, who is the Lord's Bailiff; and each of these hath a subordinate officer, not worth the naming.

Sir John Stanley, having thus opened the laws and settled the magistracy, found it now requisite to fix the manner of their Courts of Judicature. I have already spoken so largely of the Tynwald, that I now studiously omit it. The other courts are usually held twice in the year—viz., about May and Michaelmas. The first are called Sheading Courts, and are in the nature of our court leet and court baron; these are held for the Lord's profit, and relate to all breaches of the peace. All presentments are here made upon any violation of their laws or publie orders. Immediately after these, or rather with them, are held the Common Law Courts, where all actions relating to men's properties are tried. These courts were formerly held in every sheading, distinctly, to the great ease and benefit of the people. Im-

mediately after these follows the Great Court, or the Court of Gaol Delivery, in which are managed all trials for life, and perhaps there is no place in the universe where men have a fairer trial. The Governor presides, assisted by the Lord's officers, with the Bishop and his elergy. The Deemsters sit as judges, with the four-and-twenty Keys to advise with in case any new matter arise. The eriminal must be first found guilty by the Grand Inquest; after this, a peeculiar jury of four out of every parish in the Island is impannelled, and he may make his exeeptions against fifty-six, and no more; but if he suspects his ease, he may put himself to the Lord's merey, and the Lord, by their aneient law, grants him his graee, if it be for felony; but if he stands his trial, when the jury bring in their verdict, the Deemster asketh them whether the Baldpates, viz., the elergy, may sit? If the foreman answer No, then the bishop and elergy withdraw, and the man is found guilty; if otherwise, he is absolved. But if the felon be a baron's tenant, the steward of the barony may demand the prisoner, and try him in the Baron's Court, and the forfeitures are the baron's, but the disposal of the body the Lord's. There is likewise another court, ealled the Debet Court, in which all fines are set. There is also an Exehequer Court, which is held as often as the Governor pleases, or oecasion requires. It is likely many of those eourts were from all antiquity; but by his own peeculiar institution the Court of Chaneery was erected, which then was to be held weekly, as may appear by his body of instructions yet extant in our Statute Book. At present it is kept monthly, or oftener if oecasion require. The Governor sits sole Chaneellor, and may eall the Lord's Council and the Deemsters to advise with, as he sees proper. All aetions are entered in the Comptroller's offees, of which the plaintiff presents the Governor a eopy, who grants his token upon it. The defendant may refuse to appear three court days, but on the fourth is brought in by a soldier, and the matter heard and determined. So speedy is the justice of this nation, of which the world perhaps hath not a parallel.

Sir John Stanley having thus fixed his laws, his magistracy, and courts of judicature, and being now called into England by affairs of importance, the better to preserve his Government in peace and security, he left an excellent body of instructions, which show a masterly genius, yet extant in our Statute Book. I shall name only some of them.

The first is against the misgoverning of the laws and the partiality of officers, that the laws be executed without rigour, with a salvo to his own prerogative; that they be careful in setting his estate, without increase or abatement of his rent; for holding the Court of Chancery weekly; against exporting of money; against bribery, pride, and dissention among his officers; with several wise regulations in his economy and household affairs; all which show him a man of great prudence, and worthy of a nobler province. For, returning into England, he was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and it is probable Walton continued his own Lieutenant here. The disorder at his first coming over had given a very inauspicious omen of his future conduct; for, notwithstanding all these wise laws and excellent regulations, which one would have believed might have contained the people in their duties, but more have taught the magistrates how to to govern themselves better, all things fell again into disorder and confusion; the officers quarrel among themselves, and agree in nothing but neglecting their duties, injuring their Lord, and oppressing his people.

Sir John Stanley, being duly informed of the general neglect of his affairs, and the great disorder caused by his own absence, sent over

Henry Byron, his Lieutenant, a man of great prudence and severity, Anno 1428. He immediately, with a resolution becoming his station, sets about a thorough reformation of all abuses. John Coate was at that time comptroller, one whose education towards the law had given him all the knavish part, without any of the understanding—insolent, drunken, brawling,

hare-brained, a blockhead, a zealot, always mistaken, running himself into every man's business, neglecting his own, worrying the people with his Lord's authority, but always to serve his own interests or passions. By the duty of his station, he was to sit judge in these disorders, of which he had been the principal cause; and, by the Governor's power, an inquest of four-and-twenty soldiers was sworn, and both the constables, the receivers, and several other officers are found guilty, but the comptroller himself much more. This convinced the Lieutenant that the most zealous are not the most disinterested servants; and, as his justice would no more suffer him to protect an ill officer than expose a good one, he took the judgment of the whole cause into his own hands, and, upon the verdict of the inquest, both the receivers, both the constables, and the armourer are found guilty, and displaced; and the comptroller himself upon no less than nine several articles, of which most were treason, yet was only dismissed his employment. The Lieutenant having thus begun with the regulation of the officers, next proceeds to the reformation of the people. The law for ending of controversies by prowess had been the occasion of great disorders, therefore he convenes them at the Tynwald, 1429, where, by universal consent, that law was abrogated, with several regulations for measures, servants, and other inferior matters. Whether he had observed some discontents in the manner of electing their representatives, or whether he thought it for the real honour and interest of his master to have the ancient legislative power restored, he calls another assembly the year following, 1430, and ordered six men out of every sheading, or hundred, to be chosen by the whole body of the commons, out of whom he elected four, which from the six sheadings composed the twenty-four, and by their entreaty all former laws were confirmed. So that the completing the ancient number is wholly owing to the favour of this family, and seems the last finishing stroke of the settlement of this little state, by which the people are to be governed under

the honourable House of Derby as long as an English Act of Parliament can have the force of a law, which all good men will wish may hold till time itself shall be no more. (84)

A CATALOGUE OF THE GOVERNORS OF THIS ISLE SINCE SIR JOHN
STANLEY'S TIME TILL NOW.

GOVERNORS' NAMES.	THE YEAR.
John Letherland, Lieutenant	1417
John Fasakerly, Lieut.	1418
John Walton, Lieut.	1422
Henry Byron, Lieut.	1428
NOTE.—I find no records from this time till the year 1492.	
Peter Dutton, Lieut.	1496
Henry Rateliff, Abbot of Rushen, Deputy	1497
Randolph Rushton, Capt.	1505
Sir John Ireland, Knight, Lieut.	1508
John Ireland, Lieut.	1516
Randolph Rushton, Capt.	1517
Thomas Danisport, Capt.	1519
Richard Holt, Lieut.	1526
John Fleming, Capt.	1529
Thomas Sherburn, Lieut.	1530
Henry Bradley, Deputy-Lieut.	1532
Henry Stanley, Capt.	1533
George Stanley, Capt.	1535
Thomas Stanley, Knight, Lieut.	1537
George Stanley, Capt.	1539
Thomas Tyldesly, Deputy	1540
William Stanley, Deputy	1545
Henry Stanley, Capt.	1552
Thomas Stanley, Knight, Lieut.	1561
Richard Ashton, Capt.	1566
Thomas Stanley, Knight, Lieut.	1567
Edward Tarboek, Capt.	1569
John Hanmer, Capt.	1575

GOVERNORS' NAMES.					THE YEAR.
Richard Sherburn, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1580
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.	}	...	...	...	1592
Thomas Martinier, Deputy					

NOTE.—1591 Richard Aderton was admitted and sworn Lieutenant under the Captain, by my Lord's directions, for all martial affairs.

The Hon. Wm. Stanley, Capt. (afterwards Earl of Derby)	...	...	...	...	1593
Randolph Stanley, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1594
Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knight, Capt.	}	...	...	...	1596
Cuth. Gerrard, Deputy					
Thomas Gerrard, Knight, Captain	}	...	...	...	1597
Robert Mollineux, Deputy					
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.	}	...	...	...	1599
Robert Mollineux, Deputy					
Robert Mollineux, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1600
John Ireland and John Birchall, Governors jointly, by patent					
from the King	...	...	...	...	1609
John Ireland, Lieut. and Capt...	...	...	...	...	1610
Robert Mollineux, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1612
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	...	...	...	...	1621
Edward Fletcher, Governor	...	...	...	...	1622
Sir Ferd. Liege, Knight, Capt...	...	...	...	...	1623
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	...	...	...	...	1625
Edward Holmewood, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1626
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	...	...	...	...	1627
Edward Christian, Lieut. and Capt.	...	...	...	...	1628
Evan Christian, Deputy	...	...	...	...	1634
Sir Charles Gerrard, Knight, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1635
John Sharpless, Deputy	...	...	...	...	1636
Ratcliff Gerrard, Capt.	...	...	...	...	1639
John Greenhalgh, Governor	...	...	...	...	1640
Sir Phil. Musgrave, Knight, Bar.	...	...	...	...	1651
Samuel Smith, Deputy Governor	...	...	...	...	1652

NOTE.—That my Lord Fairfax made Commissioners for the governing of the Isle this year—viz., James Challoner, Robert Dinely, Esq., Jonathan Witton, Clerk.

GOVERNORS' NAMES.				THE YEAR.
Matthew Cadwell, Governor	...	...	...	1653
William Christian, Governor	...	...	...	1656
James Challoner, Governor	...	...	...	1658
AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE KING.				
Roger Nowell, Governor	}	...	...	1660
Richard Stevenson, his Deputy				
Henry Nowell, Deputy for one part of the year, and Thomas Stanley for the other part				
Stanley for the other part	...	...	...	1663
Bishop Barrow, Governor	}	...	...	1664
Henry Nowell, his Deputy				
Henry Nowell, Governor	...	...	...	1669
Henry Stanley, Governor	...	...	...	1677
Robert Heywood, Governor	...	...	...	1678
Roger Kenyon, Esq., Governor	...	...	...	1691

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

D R . T H O M A S W I L S O N , ⁽⁸⁵⁾

LORD BISHOP OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

MY LORD,—The honour you have done me in your friendship makes me hope the ensuing Essay will meet with, if not your acceptance, at least forgiveness; since the vast length of time has left me nothing to present your Lordship with but the names of so many saints and holy men, who have been your predecessors in the first fixed Bishopric of the British nations, which was planted by St. Patrick (even before Down Patrick, or Ardmagh), settled by St. German, confirmed by St. Maughauld, improved by Conanus, to be the most celebrated nursery of learning and religion in these Western nations. And if, by the barbarous ignorance of the eighth, or the destructive knowledge of the sixteenth century, this church has been sinking into a heap of ruins, yet, as Bishop Barrow ⁽⁸⁶⁾ first began to support it, so it seems designed by Providence for your Lordship to rebuild and beautify, and heal the breaches of so devouring a reformation. And, indeed, the advances you have made in fewer months than it was ages in declining, give us a specimen

of that public spirit, that vivacity of genius, which shines through all your actions, and make us wish, at least, that you may be the happy instrument of completing so necessary a work.

These, my Lord, are the hopes and expectations of a poor people, who are not able to tell you themselves how much they reverence your person, and I doubt they have but an ill advocate in,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient servant,

WILLIAM SACHEVERELL.

ESSAY IV.
OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT OF
THE ISLE OF MAN.

NOTHING can be more perplexed and difficult than the inquiries after truth in those darker ages of the world, wherein it is probable the Christian religion was first planted in this Island. There is such a mixture of fables in the monkish writers of these times, where the legend and romance, the knight-errant and the saint, are so much of a piece, that they too often make the truth rejected for the sake of falsehood, and as often the falsehood embraced for the sake of truth. This vein of writing, in which superstition, credulity, and interest had no little share, has corrupted the ecclesiastical history to such a degree, that it is almost impossible to trace the true original of these Western Churches; or, when found, to continue a true succession of those that governed them.

The first mention I find made of Christianity in this Isle is in Capgrave, in the *Life of Joseph of Arimathea*, in which he tells us of one Mordaius, a King of the Isle of Man, converted to Christianity, who had his residence in a city called Sodora. If this story be true, Christianity was planted very early, about the year 63.

The name of this city is greatly cried up by those that look for a Sodor ⁽⁸⁷⁾ in the Isle of Man. But it is wonderful that this early conversion of the King should not have a more general influence on the people; for we hear nothing of Christianity in near four hundred years, except it be in the story of *Amphibalus*, never dreamt of but by Hector Boetius, and his *Feramundus*, and rejected by most men of learning, except Archbishop Spotswood, from whom I transcribe the following account, Lib. I., fol. 3 :—

“Cratilinth, coming to the Crown in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition, and expulse the Druids, a sort of priests, held in those days in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate sacrifice, and perform their other rites, in groves, with leaves and branches of oak, and thence, saith Pliny, they were called *Druids*, ⁽⁸⁸⁾ which doth signify *an oak*. Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, doth further write that, besides the managing of sacrifices, which were committed to them, they were trusted with the decision of controversies, private and public, and that such as would not stand to their judgment were interdicted from being present at their sacrifices and holy rites, which was taken for a grievous punishment.

“It is likewise testified of them that they were well learned in all natural philosophy, men of moral conversation, and, for religion, not so grossly ignorant and superstitious as other heathen priests, for they taught that there was one only God, and that it was not lawful to represent him in any image; that the souls of men did not perish with their bodies; and that after death men were rewarded according to the life they led on earth. Some also have written that they did prophesy of the conception of a virgin, and of the birth of him who should be Saviour of the world. But that such mysteries were revealed unto them, and so plainly as the Prophets of God in the Old Testament had scarce the like, is not credible. They lived likewise in great respect with all people, and ruled their affairs very politielly, for, being governed by a president who kept his resi-

dence in the Isle of Man (which was under the dominion of the Scots), they did once every year meet in that place, to take counsel together for the ordering of affairs; and carried matters with such discretion, that Cratilinth found it difficult enough to expulse them, because of the favour they had among the people.

“ But that which furthered not a little the propagation of the Gospel in these parts, was the persecution raised by Dioclesian, which at that time was held in the South parts of Britain. This brought many Christians, both preachers and professors, into this kingdom, who were all kindly received by Cratilinth, and had the Isle of Man given them for their remaining, and revenues sufficient assigned for their maintenance. In this Isle, King Cratilinth erected a stately church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary ornaments, and called *Sodoreuse Fanum*—that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is that the Bishops of our Isles are styled *Sodoreuses Episcopi*. For so long as that Isle remained in the possession of the Scots the Bishops of the Isles made that church their cathedral; after their dispossession, the Isle Jona, commonly called I-Columb-Kill, hath been the seat of the bishops, and continueth so unto this day. In this Isle, Amphibalus sate first Bishop, a Briton born, and a man of excellent piety. He lived long, preaching carefully the doctrine of Christ both among the Scots and Piets, and after many labours taken in promoting the Christian religion, died peaceably in the said isle.”

There are so many improbabilities in this story, that I cannot but observe some of them. First, Hector Boetius says Amphibalus fled the persecution of Dioclesian, Anno 280, whereas Dioclesian did not obtain the empire till the year 286, neither did the tenth persecution arise till the year 302; and Gildas and Polydore Virgil say expressly that both St. Alban and Amphibalus suffered martyrdom Anno 305; and the general stream of British writers (with some disagreements in the time) concur in his martyrdom. Neither do we find any Scotch writer mention Amphibalus in the life of Cratilinth, before Hector Boetius and

his followers. And it is almost impossible the Manks nation should preserve no memory of so considerable a blessing as their first conversion to Christianity; but their tradition is directly against it. Besides, Matthew Paris affirms the body of Amphibalus was found at Radburn, near St. Albans, in the year 1178; and many other marks of his martyrdom at Radburn strongly conclude he died for his religion in England, and never fled to the Isle of Man to erect a bishopric and *Fanum Sodorensse*. And this at least must appear a wonder, that no memory of Christianity nor ruin of any such church should appear, or so much as mention be made of them at the time that St. Patrick landed here. But, as all the ecclesiastical writers of any credit in those ages agree, St. Patrick was the first who planted the Christian religion in this Island, and since their most ancient and authentic national traditions concur with them, I cannot but allow him to be the apostle of the Manks nation. The story thus:—About the year 434 Pope Celestine the First sent St. Patrick with twenty more to convert Ireland—or rather Scotland, for it is probable he came not to Ireland till the year 441; but, finding the harvest great and the labourers too few, he transported himself into Britain, from whence returning Anno 444, with thirty religious and learned persons in his company, he landed in the Isle of Eubonia, where he found the people, at least the rulers, given to magic, but, being overcome, or convinced by his preaching and miracles, they were converted, or else expelled the Island; and St. Patrick going for Ireland Anno 447, left

Germanus, a holy and prudent man, “ad regendum et erudendum populum in fide Christi,” says Joceelinus, which, for the honour of the Manks nation, was sixty-nine years ancients than Bangor, in Wales, which was the first bishopric that we read of among the Britons, and one hundred and fourteen years before Austin the monk. He introduced the liturgy of the Lateran, and so absolutely settled the business of religion, that the Island never afterwards relapsed. He died before St. Patrick, who sent two bishops to supply his place, Conindrius and Romulus, of

whom we have little memorable ; but that one or both of them survived St. Patrick five years is very probable, for then it was 494.

St. Maughold—by some written *Macfield*, by Dr. Heylin *Machilla*, by the Latin authors *Macutus*—was elected Bishop by the universal suffrage of the Manks nation, but by whom consecrated is very uncertain ; for, as the former bishops, by right of conversion, were consecrated by St. Patrick, so whether the Archbishop of Armagh continued the same, does not appear ; neither can I affirm it done by the Archbishop of York, because the Bishopric was not erected by St. Paulinus till the year 622, which was above 100 years after St. Maughold, whose legend I studiously omit, and only mention a third error in Hector and his followers, who style him Bishop of Sodor, and therefore will have the *Episcopus Sodorensis* and Man the same ; whereas this bishopric was erected many ages before St. Columbus, who is acknowledged by all writers to be the founder of the Abbey of Hye, in the Island of Jona, which from him was called I-Columb-Kill, which monastery was the cathedral of the Bishop of the Isles, who was from that time styled *Episcopus Sodorensis*, from a village called Sodor, adjoining to the monastery, in which the Bishop had his residence ; for Mr. Cambden says expressly, in his *British Isles* (in which he contradicts himself), that they were called *Insule Sodorenses* when the Bishops were ordained in Sodor ; and with him both Harrison and Mercator agree. After the Isle of Man was made the seat of the Norwegian race, the Bishoprics were united with the titles of Sodor and Man, and so continued till conquered by the English, since which the Bishop of Man keeps his claim, and the Scotch Bishop styles himself Bishop of the Isles, anciently *Episcopus Insularum Sodorensium*.

How long St. Maughold sate Bishop, we do not find, only Dr. Heylin says he was Bishop Anno 578, so that it is probable he sate more than four-and-twenty years ; neither have we any certainty of a successor till the year 600 ; his name was

Conanus, tutor to the three sons of Eugenius, the fourth King of Scotland, as Bishop Spotswood informs us. After him the succession seems wholly broken till the eleventh century; yet during this long vacancy a new error arose, viz., that the Bishopric was erected by Pope Gregory the Fourth, Anno 840, into which mistake most of our English writers—as Mr. Cambden, my Lord Cook, and Dr. Heylin—have fallen, without any ground in history that I have yet met with, except that the Bishopric of the Isles had its beginning about that time.

In a very ancient manuscript, ⁽⁸⁹⁾ which was put into my hands by the Reverend Mr. Henry Jones (nephew and executor to the Right Reverend Doctor Fell, late Bishop of Oxford), I find an exact succession for above 200 years, which, in my own opinion, was extracted from the roll of the ancient Abbey of Rushen. This manuscript, by way of introduction, informs us that, though they had a traditional succession of bishops from the time of St. Maughold, yet, as it was not certainly known who they were, or in what order they sat, it was thought more proper to omit them; and begins with one Roolwer. To him succeeded

William. After him, in the time of Goddard Crownan,

Hamundus, by some written Vermundus or Wymundus, ⁽⁹⁰⁾ who probably was the first Bishop styled of *Sodor and Man*. He was the son of Jole, a Manksman. Matthew Paris says he died in 1151; but Mr. Challoner informs us that his eyes were put out for his cruelty, and he himself expelled the Island. It is not certain by whom he was consecrated, nor his successor,

Gamaliel, an Englishman, who lies buried at Peterborough. After him succeeded

Reginald, a Norwegian. To him the thirds of all the livings in the Island were granted by the clergy, that from thenceforward they might be freed from all episcopal exactions. It is probable that he was the first Bishop that was consecrated by the Archbishop of Nidrosia, or Dronthiem. His successor was

Christian, a native of —, ⁽⁹¹⁾ who lies buried in the monastery of Bangor, in Ireland. To him succeeded

Michael, a Manksman, a person of great merit and exemplary life. ⁽⁹²⁾ He died in a good old age, and was honourably buried *apud Pontanos*, Anno 1203. To him succeeded

Nicholas de Melsa, ⁽⁹³⁾ Abbot of Furness. He lies buried in the Abbey of Bangor. After him,

Reginald, ⁽⁹⁴⁾ a person of Royal extraction, sister's son to good King Olave, was consecrated Bishop, Anno 1216, who, though he laboured under great infirmities of body, yet governed his church with prudence and resolution. At last, with an exemplary resignation, he yielded up his soul into the hands of his Creator. He lies buried in the Abbey of Rushen; and was succeeded by

John, the son of Hefare, ⁽⁹⁵⁾ who, by the negligence of his servants, was unfortunately burnt, *apud Jerewas in Angliá*. After him,

Simon, of —, ⁽⁹⁶⁾ a person of great discretion, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, governed the Church. He held a synod Anno 1239, in which thirteen canons were enacted. Most of them relate to the probate of wills, the clergy's dues, and other inferior matters. He died at his Palace of Kirk-Michael, in a good old age, and lies buried in the cathedral dedicated to St. German. After him,

Laurence, ⁽⁹⁷⁾ the Archdeacon, was elected Bishop, and after great disputes, consecrated by the Archbishop of Dronthiem; but was unfortunately drowned with Harrauld, King of Man, his queen, and almost all the nobility of the Isles; so that the Bishopric continued vacant almost six years, when Richard, an Englishman, was consecrated at Rome by the Archbishop of Dronthiem. ⁽⁹⁸⁾ He consecrated the Abbey Church of St. Mary, of Rushen, Anno 1257. After he had governed the Church twenty-three years, returning from a general council, Anno 1274, he died *apud Langallyner in Coplandiá*, and lies buried in the Abbey of Fur-

ness. In his time the Scotch conquered the Island. He was succeeded by

Markus Galvadiensis ⁽⁹⁹⁾ (commonly written Galloredinus), at the nomination of Alexander, King of Scotland, for which reason (I suppose) he was banished by the Manksmen. During his absence the Island lay under an interdict, but at last being recalled, he laid a smoke penny upon every house, by way of commutation. He held a synod at Kirk-Braddan, in which thirty-five canons were enacted. He lived to a great age, and was for many years blind, and lies buried in St. German's Church, in Peel Castle. It is probable he was succeeded by

Mauritius, sent prisoner to London by King Edward the First, therefore not put into the catalogue of bishops. In his room was substituted

Allen ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ (Bishop Spotswood calls him Onanus, but mistakes the year of his consecration), of Galloway, who governed the Church with great honour and integrity. He died the 15th of February, Anno 1321. He lies buried at Rothersay, in Scotland. To him succeeded

Gilbert, of Galloway, who sat but two years and a half, and lies buried near his predecessor, in the Church of Rothersay. After him,

Bernard, a Scot, held the Bishopric three years; and lies buried in the Monastery of Kilwinning, in Scotland. His successor was

Thomas, ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ a Scot, who sat Bishop fourteen years. He was the first who exacted twenty shillings of his clergy by way of procuration, as likewise the tenths of all aliens. He died the 20th of September, 1348. The same year

William Russel, ⁽¹⁰²⁾ Abbot of Rushen, was elected by the whole clergy of Man, in St. German's Church, in Holme, vulgarly Peel Castle. He was consecrated by Pope Clement the Sixth, at Avignon, and was the first that shook off the yoke of the Archbishop of Dronthiem, by whom his predecessors had for many ages been consecrated. He held a synod, Anno 1350, in

Kirk-Michael, in which five articles were added to the former canons. He died the 21st of April, 1374, and was buried in the Abbey of Furness. He was Abbot of Rushen eighteen years, and Bishop twenty-six. After him,

John Duncan, ⁽¹⁰³⁾ a Manksman, was elected by the clergy of Man, and going to Avignon, was confirmed by Pope Gregory the Eleventh, and consecrated *per Cardinalem Preestinum dudum Archiepiscopum*. In his return home he was made prisoner at Bolonia, in Picardy, and laid in irons for two years, and at last forced to ransom himself for five hundred marks; so that he was not installed till the year 1376, in which Mr. Jones's account determines. It is probable he was succeeded by

Robert Welby ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ (as Dr. Heylin, in his *Help to English History*, informs us), Anno 1396, who, it is believed, sat twenty-two years, and had for his successor

John Sprotton, ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ who is the first Bishop mentioned in our records. After him we find no Bishop named till the year 1503, in which

Evan, or Huan, was elected by Sir Thomas Stanley. It is probable he was succeeded by

Hugh Hesketh, ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ for I find in the roll of the family of Ruford, Hugh Hesketh, third son to Robert, Esq., a Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of the Isle of Man; and "Hic jacet Robertus Hesketh Armiger, qui obiit primo die Jan., A.D. 1490."

Robert Ferrier ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ sat Bishop Anno 1554, says Sir Richard Baker; he was afterwards removed to St. David's, says Grafton. He was succeeded by Henry Man, Anno 1555. Our records make mention of one Dr. Man, Anno 1583, who had been formerly Bishop of Man. ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ He died Anno 1556, says Dr. Heylin, and was succeeded by

Bishop Salisbury, ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ the year uncertain, whose successor was

Thomas Stanley, son to Sir Edward Stanley, first Lord Montague, who was second son to Thomas, first Earl of Derby. How long he sat, is uncertain, but it appears, by record, John Mer-

rick was sworn Bishop of this Isle Anno 1577. He it was who gave Mr. Cambden the history of this Isle published in his *Britannia*, which I have transcribed, with very little alteration, in my historical collections. He was succeeded by

George Lloyd, Anno 1600, who was afterwards removed to Chester, and had for his successor

Bishop Foster, ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ as Dr. Heylin, in his *Help to English History*, informs us. He was succeeded by

Dr. John Phillips, Anno 1605, a native of North Wales, who was sworn Bishop the same year. He translated the Common Prayer ⁽¹¹¹⁾ (at this time to be seen) into the language of the natives, and Mr. Challoner says the Bible, though now not extant. A man famous in his generation for his great pains in preaching, his charity, and hospitality, even to the meanest of the people. He was succeeded by

Dr. Richard Parr, Anno 1635, a Lancashire man, sometime Fellow of Brazen-Nose College, in Oxford, who, whilst he continued in the University, says Mr. Challoner, on his own knowledge, was an eminent preacher. He was the last who sat before our late unhappy civil wars. Next to him

Samuel Rutter ⁽¹¹²⁾ was sworn Bishop, Anno 1661. He had been Archdeacon, and governed the Church with great prudence during the late wars. He was a man of exemplary goodness and moderation. He sat Bishop till the year 1663, which shows the Oxford editor egregiously mistaken in affirming Bishop Barrow to be the first bishop after the Restoration.

Anno 1663 Dr. Isaac Barrow was consecrated Bishop of the Isle of Man, and sent over Governor by Charles, Earl of Derby; a man of a public spirit, and great designs for the good of the Church, to whose industry is owing all that little learning amongst us, and to whose prudence and charity the poor clergy owe the bread they eat, as will appear more largely in the catalogue of the benefactors. This good man, to the great loss of the Island, was removed to St. Asaph, and was succeeded by

Dr. Henry Bridgman, Anno 1671.

Dr. John Lake, (113) Anno 1682; removed to Bristol.

Dr. Baptist Levinz, Anno 1684. He died 1693.

The Bishops of Man, besides their spiritual jurisdiction, are sole Barons of this Isle; in all trials for life, they may assist in the Temporal Court till the sentence. They hold courts in their own names for their temporalities. If any of their tenants are tried for life, they may demand them from the Lord's Court, and try them by a jury of their own tenants; and in case of conviction, the lands are forfeited to the Bishop.

The arms of the Bishopric are upon three ascents: the Virgin Mary standing with her arms extended between two pillars, on the dexter whereof a church, in base the ancient arms of Man. (114) The Archdeacon is the second spiritual magistrate; he has in all inferior cases alternate jurisdiction with the Bishop, and many other privileges, as well in temporals as spirituals. He holds his courts either in person or by his official, as the Bishop does his by his Vicars-General, which are always two, (115) one for each division of the Isle, and are in the nature of chancellors to the Bishop; these, with the Registrars, compose the Consistory Court, and have under their jurisdiction seventeen parishes.

THE NORTH DIVISION.

Kirk Patrick } Dedicated to those saints.
Kirk German }
Kirk Michael.

St. Mary of Ballaugh.—A Parsonage.

St. Patrick Jurby.

Kirk Andrews.—The Archdeaconry.

Kirk Bride.—Dedicated to St. Bridget. A Parsonage.

Kirk Christ Lez-Ayre. (116)

SOUTH DIVISION.

Kirk Maughold.—Dedicated to St. Maughold, the third Bishop.

Kirk Lonan.—Dedicated to Lomanus, said by the tradition to succeed St. Maughold in the Bishopric, the son of Tygrida, one of the three holy sisters of St. Patrick, and thought to be the first Bishop of Trym, in Ireland.

Kirk Conchan ⁽¹¹⁷⁾.—Dedicated to Concha, sister to St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, and mother to St. Patrick.

Kirk Braddan, ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ which signifies “a salmon” in the Manks tongue.

Kirk Marown ⁽¹¹⁹⁾.—Dedicated to that saint.

Kirk St. Anne.

Kirk Malew.—Dedicated to St. Lupus.

Kirk Arbory ⁽¹²⁰⁾.—Dedicated to St. Columbus.

Kirk Christ Rushen.

There were formerly several chapels, ⁽¹²¹⁾ and in each town one is yet standing, as also one in the centre of the land dedicated to St. John, in which they hold their Tynwald, or public assembly; but above all, the abbeys seemed to have exceeded the ability of the country, among which the Abbey of St. Mary of Rushen was the chief. It consisted of twelve monks and an abbot, who at first were meanly endowed, and lived by their labour; but in process of time they had good revenues, the buildings very handsome, the rooms convenient, and the chapel larger than anything (the cathedral excepted) in the Island. It was called the daughter of Furness, which is said to be the mother of this and many other abbeys in the Isle of Man. I find in our records one John Fargher, Abbot of Rushen, Deputy Governor; and in a piece of timber in Kirk Arbory, which separates the church from the chancel, one Thomas Radcliff, Abbot of Rushen. These Abbots were Barons of the Island, held courts for their temporalities in their own names, might demand a prisoner from the Lord's Court, if their own tenant, and try him by a jury of their own tenants, as the steward of the Abbey lands may do at this day.

The Prioress of Douglass was a Baroness of the Island, and enjoyed the same privileges. The Priory was said to be built by St. Bridget, when she came to receive the veil of virginity from St. Maughold. The situation of the Nunnery is much the pleasantest in the Island.

There were likewise the Friars Minors of Beemacken, and a

small plantation of the Cistertian Order in Kirk Christ Lez-Ayre; ⁽¹²²⁾ but neither of these had baronies annexed to them. There were likewise several foreign Barons, ⁽¹²³⁾ as I have already mentioned in my historical part. To conclude, the Church of the Isle of Man is strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and though it is as far short of its learning as it is of its revenue, yet, without vanity, it may be said that in its uniformity it outdoes any branch of the Reformed Churches. ⁽¹²⁴⁾

A VOYAGE TO I-COLUMB-KILL,

IN THE YEAR 1688.

ADDRESSED IN A LETTER TO —.

SIR,—The commands you laid on me of going into Scotland this summer, make me hope an abstract of my journal will not prove unacceptable to you. ⁽¹²⁵⁾

We left Liverpool June 23d, in the evening. On Midsummer-day we came up with the Isle of Man, but the wind coming to the westward, we with some difficulty got into Ramsey Bay, where we anchored. In the night our long-boat and tender came to us, but the wind proving northerly, we were forced to stay there till Sunday. On Monday, the 27th, early in the morning, we doubled the Mule of Galloway; it proving a dead calm, the tides almost hauled us on the Maids, which are dangerous rocks to the northward of the opening of Carrick Fergus Lough; but the wind veering to the north, and freshening, we got into Lough Learn. It blew very hard for a whole week, during which time I took the opportunity of visiting Carrick Fergus and Belfast, two considerable towns in the North of Ireland. The first very ancient, and the capital of the county of

Antrim, but of little trade, and ruinous. The only considerable things in it are the Earl of Dunagall's house, a noble building ; a monument of the Lord Chichester in the church, with statues of himself, lady, brother, and children, with columns and inscriptions, which are all very fine in their kind ; he was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in King James the First's time, and his lady daughter to that famous Sir Thos. Perrot, who had some years before been his predecessor. The chancel had been the burying-place of the O'Neals, Kings of Ulster, and was almost filled with banners of that ancient family. Fergus's Castle is an old building, but still firm and entire ; the tower is lofty, and at present the magazine for that part of Ireland. The town is walled round, and has constantly a garrison in it. At the foot of the castle is the rock on which Fergus was shipwrecked, after he had so gloriously restored, if not planted, the Scottish nation in the North parts of Britain. I found the Earl of Dunagall in town ; he received me with all the goodness and humanity that could be expected from a great man. He invited me to Belfast, whither he was going with the Earl of Orrery and the Lord Dungannon. Belfast is the second town in Ireland, well-built, full of people, and of great trade. The quantities of butter and beef which it sends into foreign parts are almost incredible ; I have seen the barrels piled up in the very streets. The new pottery is a pretty curiosity, set up by Mr. Smith, the present sovereign, and his predecessor, Captain Leathes, a man of great ingenuity. The Bishop of the diocese was then in town on his visitation ; his name Dr. Warkenton, famous for his skill in the mathematics. Mr. Winder, the minister of Belfast and chancellor of the diocese, is an excellent preacher as most I have heard. These were the most considerable persons I met with in town. The Castle (so they call the Earl of Dunagall's house) is not of the newest model, but the gardens are very spacious, with great variety of walks, both close and open, fish-ponds, groves, &c., and the irregularity itself was, I think, no small addition to the beauty of the place. I stayed in town two nights, and on Satur-

day returned to the yacht. On Sunday morning, July the 2nd, the wind falling to the south-west, we weighed, and came up with the Mule of Kentire that evening. Next morning we were near the Routhlins; the weather so hazy, that we could not see the length of the ship, so that we missed the Sound of Jyla, and fell into a lough two leagues to the westward of it, and were almost aground at the head of the bay before we knew where we were. It cost us that whole day to turn out of the lough, but in the evening we anchored in the opening of the Sound of Jyla. We passed the Sound early next morning, July the 4th; the weather rainy and tempestuous, with terrible flans from the Paps of Jura, so that we could not observe the height of those prodigious mountains. About twelve o'clock we made the Sound of Mull; we saluted the Castle of Dowart with five guns, and they returned three. I sent in my pinnaee for the boats, and things you had left there; and in the evening we cast anchor in the Bay of Tauber Maury, which, for its bigness, is one of the finest and safest in the world. The mouth of it is almost shut up with a little woody island, called the Calve; the opening to the south not passable for small boats at low water, and that to the north barely musket-shot over. To the landward it is surrounded with high mountains covered with woods, pleasantly intermixed with rocks, and three or four eascades of water, which throw themselves from the top of the mountain, with a pleasure that is astonishing; all which together make one of the oddest and most charming prospects I ever saw. Italy itself, with all the assistance of art, can hardly afford anything more beautiful and diverting; especially when the weather was clear and serene, to see the divers sinking threescore foot under water, and stay sometimes above an hour, and at last returning with the spoils of the ocean; whether it were plate or money, it convinced us of the riches and splendour of the once-thought *invincible Armada*. This raised variety of ideas in a soul so fond of novelty as mine. Sometimes I reflected with horror on the danger of the British nation; sometimes with pleasure on that generous courage and

conduct that saved a sinking state ; and sometimes nature itself would struggle for pity on the unfortunate, to see so great an enterprize baffled and lost by accidents unthought-of and unforeseen. How narrow is the best of human prudence, when such weak instruments, in the hand of Providence, can dash the most refined projects of ambitious princes ! The first week the weather was pleasant, but spent in fitting our engines, which proved very well, and every way suited to the design, and our divers outdid all examples of this nature ; but with the dog-days the autumnal rains usually begin in these parts, and for six weeks we had scarce a good day. The whole frame of nature seemed inhospitable, bleak, stormy, rainy, windy, so that our divers could not bear the cold ; and despairing to see any amendment of weather, I resolved on a journey cross the Isle of Mull, to the so much celebrated Il-Columb-Kill (called commonly I-Columb-Kill), in English, "St. Columb's Church."

I began my journey August 23. On the top of the hill, which secures the bay from the west, stands a little chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and near it rises a pretty spring, which is said to have a medicinal nature ; this gives denomination to the Bay of Tauber Maury, in English, the "Well of Mary." The first four miles we saw but few houses, but crossed a wild, desert country, with a pleasant mixture of woods and mountains. Every man and thing I met with seemed a novelty ; I thought myself entering upon a new scene of nature, but nature rough and unpolished, and, if I may be allowed the expression, in her undress. Men, manners, habits, buildings, everything different from our own ; and if we thought them rude and barbarous, no doubt the people had the same opinion of what belonged to us, and the wonder was mutual. During my stay I generally observed the men to be large-bodied, stout, subtle, active, patient of cold and hunger. There appeared in all their actions a certain generous air of freedom, and contempt of those trifles, luxury and ambition, which we so servilely creep after. They bound their appetites by their necessities, and their happiness consists, not in

having much, but in coveting little. The women seem to have the same sentiments with the men; though their habits were mean, and they had not our sort of breeding, yet in many of them there was a natural beauty, and a graceful modesty which never fails of attracting. The usual outward habit of both sexes is the plaid; the women's much finer, the colours more lively, and the squares larger than the men's, and put me in mind of the ancient Piets. This serves them for a veil, and covers both head and body. The men wear theirs after another manner; especially when designed for ornament, it is loose and flowing, like the mantles our painters give their heroes. Their thighs are bare, with brawny muscles. Nature has drawn all her strokes bold and masterly. What is covered is only adapted to necessity: a thin brogue on the foot, a short buskin of various colours on the leg, tied above the calf with a striped pair of garters. What should be concealed is hid with a large shot-pouch, on each side of which hangs a pistol and a dagger; as if they found it necessary to keep those parts well guarded. A round target on their backs, a blue bonnet on their heads, in one hand a broad sword, and a musket in the other, perhaps no nation goes better armed; and I assure you they will handle them with bravery and dexterity, especially the sword and target, as our veteran regiments found to their cost at Gille Crankee. Their utensils are few, and buildings mean, only suited to mere necessity, and are indeed below description. The first place we came to was the Castle of Aras, but ruinous, old, useless, and never of any strength; from hence Mr. Duncan Campbell, the Earl of Argyle's bailiff, invited us to his house, about half a mile farther, to breakfast, where he treated us very civilly. In the afternoon we proceeded on our journey, over a country broken, rocky, boggy, barren, and almost wholly unarable; besides, the weather was very unseasonable; so that, though our whole day's journey was but sixteen miles, it seemed at least six-and-twenty. But, wet and weary, at last we came to a change-house (so they call a house of entertainment) if a place that had neither bed, victuals, nor drink, may be al-

lowed that name. Our servants cut us green fern, wet as it was, for bedding; and meeting so poor a reception here, I believe you will not wonder that we set forward early next morning; and if I thought the first day's journey hard and unequal, this was much worse—high and craggy mountains, horrid rocks, and dreadful preeipices; Pelion upon Ossa are trifling and little, if compared to them. After ten miles' riding, we came to the further shore. With great difficulty we procured a boat, and had then three leagues to row, through rocks, on which we struck several times, and eurrents of tide, and all the disadvantages of the climate and nature. At last we landed in the Isle of Jona, near the ruins of the Il-Columb-Kill, or Abbey of Hy. The church was once large and noble, considering the country; their abbey convenient and neat. There is still the remains of a cloister behind the church, which leads to the several apartments; as likewise of a library, as we suppose, and under it a large room, which they told us was for public disputations; some good lodgings, which we thought were the abbot's. To say truth, everything seemed disposed to use, rather than grandeur, though, considering the country and time in which it was built, magnificent enough. I had the euriousity to measure the church: the choir was 20 yards long, the eupolo 21 foot square, the body of the church exactly the same length with the choir, and the two cross-aisles half that length. On each side of the choir are two little chapels, the entrance to them opening with large pillars, euriously earved in basso-relievo. The steeple was lofty, though I had not opportunity to take the just height, nor that of the church. There was formerly a fine ring of bells, which has been sold, if I am rightly informed. There are but few monuments remaining; the best is one of the latter abbots, whom I found, by the inscription, to be of the noble family of the MaeKenning, or MaeKenzy, at present Earls of Seaforth. The statue is of black marble, euriously wrought, as big as the life, in an episcopal habit, with a mitre, erosier, ring, and all the ornaments used by bishops in those days. On the other side there is another

of the same make, without any inscription. In the middle, on a flat stone, the proportion of a man in armour engraved, which seems very ancient, and they say was laid there in honour of one of the family of MacLeod, who were for many ages Lords of Mull, and other adjacent isles. These were all I could find within the church, though the Dean of the Isles, Mr. John Frazer, an honest episcopal minister, who since made me a visit, told me his father, who had been Dean of the Isles, left him a book with above 300 inscriptions, which he had lent to the late Earl of Argyle, a man of incomparable sense and great curiosity, and doubts they are all lost by that great man's afflictions. There is one thing yet which is very noble in its kind, which was the ancient altar of the church, one of the finest pieces of white marble I ever saw; it is about six foot long, and four broad, curiously veined, and polished; it is all yet entire, except one corner, which has been broken by accident.

Having thus far satisfied my curiosity in the inside of the church, I carefully viewed the outside of these reverend ruins. On the west end stands the monument of Columbus, the apostle of these parts and founder of the abbey, at present nothing but a ruinous heap of stones, and gives us no idea of what it was originally; but seems to have been plain, rude, and suited to the simplicity of those ages in which the Gospel was planted in these Northern parts of Scotland. At the end of this monument stands a little chapel, in which, it is possible, in those *ignorant and devout ages*, they offered their prayers to God for the blessings of the Gospel conveyed to them by his holy person. Near the chapel stand three large crosses of black marble, finely engraved, of which one that is high and proportionably big is yet entire, and more than half of the other two remaining. The bounds of the church were large, and formerly surrounded with a firm wall, now almost demolished; in one corner of which is a peculiar enclosure, almost covered with grave-stones, which were the monuments of the kings of many different nations, but all rude and unpolished, suited to the plainness and ignorance of the ages in

which they lived; sixteen Kings of Scotland (Sir G. Mackenzie says forty), as many of Ireland, eight of Norway, and some of the Isle of Man, besides multitudes of subordinate princes and chiefs. This, said the person who showed me the place (pointing to a plain stone), was the monument of the Great Teague, King of Ireland; I had never heard of him, and could not but reflect of how little value is greatness that has barely left a name scandalous to a nation, and a grave the meanest of mankind would never envy! At the corner of this enclosure stands a decayed oratory, they call Oran's Chapel; the vulgar ascribe the building of it to Columbus, and tell a comical story on the subject, which, if true, shows us that saints themselves are not always free from whimsies. The story thus:—

Columbus dreamed a famine (which grievously afflicted the North parts of Britain) would never cease unless he buried a man alive. He acquainted his monks with it, and the veneration they had for the man made them take it as the decree of the Almighty, and seriously to consider of a person who ought to expiate for the sufferings of a whole nation. Amongst these one Oran offered Columbus to be the man, provided he would build a chapel to be called by his name. Columbus assented, and built the chapel, and put the man standing upright into the grave, with a promise it should be opened again at the end of twenty-four hours; which was done accordingly, and Oran, still living, began to entertain Columbus and his company with so particular an account of the state of the dead, that the good man did not think it safe to trust him any longer among the living, but ordered the grave to be closed again upon him, and sent him to the other world, where he had already made so good an acquaintance.

This chapel is at present the burying-place of all the neighbouring families of note—as the MacLeods, supposed to be descended from the ancient Kings of Norway, on one of whose monuments the image and inscriptions were massy silver, laid in marble, but the sacred metal has been lately stolen; the royal

family of MacDonald, formerly Kings of the Western parts of Scotland and the Isles; the MacKennings, famous in our times, especially in Sir George Maekeny, whose memory will be forever celebrated among men of polite learning.

I before mentioned the MacLeods, and it would be endless to name or remember all; I therefore quitted the enclosure, to visit the palace of the ancient bishops. It stood to the north, without the bounds of the church, and consisted of a large hall open to the roof, a chamber I suppose he used a ladder to get into, and under the chamber a buttery; the roof is now fallen in. I believe the offices were without, according to the custom of the country; but the whole was certainly very mean, and put me in mind of the inscription on Bishop Rutter's tomb, in the Isle of Man—"Vide et ride Palatium Episcopi," as it is probable the church was the true *Fanum Sodorensse*. I went next to seek for the so-much-talked-of town of Sodor. None of the inhabitants had any notion of it, but I found a broad pavement about 300 yards long, on the south part of the abbey, running to a pretty nunnery, and on each side some mean cabins, and many ruins of a poor village, which was certainly the true Sodor, and has been as much sought for as the head of Nile. The Dean of the Isles seemed absolutely of my opinion, and gives me hopes he will oblige the world with the antiquities of this famous abbey, and a true state or the dispute about the Bishopric of Sodor, betwixt the Bishop of Man and the Bishop of the Isles. The greatest part of the inhabitants of this village are called *Mac-en-Oysters*, in English, *the sons of the officers*, upon which another story depends, which is firmly believed by all persons here:—

Columbus brought several servants with him out of Ireland, whom he made officers in his abbey; but they, by their negligence or otherwise, having disobliged him, he prayed they might never exceed the number they then were, which was eight; and though this was 1200 years ago, it is said they never yet were more than eight, and rarely fewer than six. I asked the Dean about it, and he said it was a standing observation, and generally believed. Their offspring continued hereditary servants to the

end; and perhaps the good man was afraid to bring too great a charge upon his foundation.

They are at present miserably poor, since the ruin of the abbey: one of them pretends to show the monuments, and gets some small matter by it. They seem an innocent, simple people, ignorant and devout; and though they have no minister, they constantly assemble in the great church on Sundays, where they spend most part of the day in private devotions.

The next place I went to visit was the Nunnery, built likewise by Columbus, though some think it of a much later foundation, for it is said that the good man was so severe that he would not let cows come into the island, because they would require women to manage them. Either this rigid humour afterwards abated, or his successors at least found both very useful; at present I observed some hundreds of cows, and the nunnery and the ruins of the town show that their affairs were not so wholly managed without the female sex. This nunnery was a pretty square building, the chapel neat, and the burying-place of all the ladies in this part of Scotland, as Oran's chapel is of the men.

I observed a great many flat stones, though but one raised monument, as I remember; the sculpture on it was very odd: at one end of the stone the figure of a lady, to the knees, in an episcopal habit, with a mitre on her head; at the other end, the same lady in a nun's habit, and the head where the feet should be. With a great deal of rubbing, I cleared so much of the inscription as to find her styled "*Filia Mac Donaldi Priorissa*," and I think the Christian name *Theresa*, but am not certain. This was the only inscription I could find in this cemetery of the ladies.

The situation of both these foundations lies under a pretty high hill to the west, which St. Columbus ascending after he had finished his buildings, blessed them, and prophesied that his church should be the burying-place of the kings of the nations. This was literally fulfilled, while the primitive virtue and piety continued among his successors; and at least his works remained as long as any shadow of his institution was left among them.

He was certainly a man of an austere, contemplative piety, of

royal extraction (his grandfather monarch of Ireland, and supported by Papal authority) of vast power even in temporals, as being near of kin to the Kings of Scotland and Ireland. He frequently gave peace, by his own influence, to these distracted nations, and the loss the King of Scotland sustained by the Saxons at last broke his heart. Of what order his monks were I find not; probably they were of none, but continued according to the establishment of their founder, which was before the monkish corruptions crept in.

His institution was likewise very uncommon, if what the Scottish writers allege be true—that the jurisdiction was vested in the Abbot, and the ministerial part in the Bishop; which, because it has been the subject of debate betwixt two of the greatest men of the Church of England and that honour of the Scotch nation, Sir George Mackenzie, I will venture to give you my thoughts, how far both sides may be in the right.

Sir George argues very well that in the planting a church the Holy Ghost sometimes made use of Presbyters, but when so great a body of Christians were converted as to require many Presbyters, that then the Church always thought fit to send bishops to govern them. Now, this was the case of Columbanus, the apostle of the Western Scots, who, coming out of Ireland with his *culdees*, or *monks*, already ordained, had the government of them, as other abbots in the universal Church. But none of the Scotch nation can ever prove that the Abbots of Hy pretended to ordination or convening of synods, in which I take the episcopal jurisdiction to consist. And though, in honour of his apostleship, it is probable there was no bishop sent during his life, yet in the year 600, which was about the time of his death, we find Conan Bishop of Sodor. I have reason to presume he had full jurisdiction with other bishops, except within the bounds of the abbey; which, by the corruptions of the Church of Rome about that time, came to be a distinct interest from the Church as well as the State; and a few ages after, all the greater abbeys were exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Therefore, I

am ready to own the Abbots of Hy, although but Presbyters, in honour of this great man, had precedence, not only of the Bishop of the Isles, but of all other bishops in Scotland, as the Grand Prior of St. John had of all the bishops in England. But, as I hinted before, none has yet proved that they had the power of ordination or convening of synods. And though it is not certain what was done in those darker ages of the Church, yet I have the acts of no less than three synods by me, which were held betwixt the 10th and 13th centuries, by the Bishops of Sodor and Man, in which there is not the least mention made of the Abbot of Hy; and our Manks history tells us of one held by Reginald, Bishop of the Isles, upon a divorce of one of their kings, which it is probable was held in the abbey church itself, and the abbot not mentioned. But lest it should be objected that this was under the Norwegian Conquest, and consequently the right was not exerted, I have the acts of one synod held by Marcus of Galloway (commonly writ *Gelorodinus*), who was made Bishop at the nomination of Alexander, King of Scotland, at the reduction of the Kingdom of the Isles; and yet even in that no mention of the Abbot of Hy; so that I may conclude that, whatever precedence these Abbots had as Barons of Scotland, yet they had never the episcopal authority. And Harrison says expressly that then the Bishops of the Isle of Man were styled Bishops of Sodor, when the jurisdiction of the Isles the Hebrides belonged to them.

I ask your pardon, Sir, for this long digression, though on so important a point. But, however it was, the greatness and piety of the man may seem to sanctify these irregularities; though one story of him, if true, looks very cruel. It is probable the Druids kept up their authority in this island after their expulsion from the Isle of Man; but they tell us that, after they had refused to embrace his religion, he ordered them all to be drowned.

I am unwilling to make reflections on the story, because I hope it is not true, we having nothing but Scottish tradition for it; but I am sure I should have very little veneration for the saint, when

his zeal obliges him to put off the man. His whole model, it must be confessed, seems squared to the highest degrees of mortification and severity. This introduced a sour religion, which, overheated by the zeal of subsequent ages, in the end proved the destruction, not only of the institution itself, but of that calm and gentle temper which is the only sign of true religion. It must be confessed, their daily lectures, moral, philosophical, natural and divine, and the constant recording of all transactions, political, historical, &c., were of admirable use, had not the wisdom and experience of 1000 years been all lost at once by decree of the Synod of Argile. It is probable they found very little in them to justify their own innovations, which tempted them to destroy all the sacred records of antiquity.

The vexation and disappointment I found was such, that I quitted the Abbey with indignation, to see so many noble monuments of the virtue and piety of these great and holy men buried in their own ruins, and so celebrated a seminary of learning and religion sacrificed to zeal, avarice, and ignorance.

We were obliged to pass by a place where had formerly stood three noble globes of white marble, I supposed designed for some mathematical uses; they were placed on three stone basons, and custom, or superstition, had taught all persons who passed by to turn them round. These globes were called the *Day-of-Judgment stones*, and the people were made believe that when they had worn the sockets or pedestals by the continued motion of passengers, that then the world should be at an end. These globes the synod ordered to be thrown into the sea, perhaps hoping that when these dangerous instruments of it were removed, it might never come to pass. They likewise ordered sixty crosses to be cast into the sea, to appease, it may be, the manes of the ancient Druids, to whose popular form of government they were going to sacrifice the institution, if not the religion of their founder.

I now began to climb the mountain, which secures the Abbey from the western winds. I found the ascent easy, with a pleasant mixture of rocks and verdant grass; nothing of that heathy,

boggy earth we had passed over the day before. The evening was calm and pleasant; the sea smooth, quiet, and gently murmuring upon the neighbouring rocks, from whence we had the charming prospect of several islands of different forms, some high and craggy (particularly the little Island Soe, or Sotre, which again put me upon inquiring after the ancient Sodor), and some smooth and level, especially Tirree, which is said by Buchanan to be the most fruitful isle in all Scotland; but I suppose he might have excepted this in which we were. All the hilly part is a very good sheep-walk, the lower grounds fruitful and arable, and the corn then ripe, and actually reaped, though there was no prospect of harvest in a month after in any part of the country. On the marshes near the sea I saw great herds of cows feeding, so that it seemed to want nothing that might conduce to the life of man. This agreeable prospect, with the pleasant situation of the abbey, brought my temper again into frame. I had then leisure to inquire the number of the inhabitants, which I was informed was about 80 families; the people of a softer genius, and more susceptible of religion and politure than the neighbouring islands. The place of itself, about three miles long and two over, as near as I could guess. I inquired for mines and minerals, but could hear of none; only in one part I was told there was a good vein of black marble, and at another end of the island they frequently take out of the sea a small sort of greenish pebbles, that are capable of engraving and polishing like agates; they brought me several, but none without flaws.

I likewise inquired for fowls and animals differing from other places, but could meet with nothing of that nature uncommon. I was peculiarly curious concerning the *barnacle*, or *anser abietanus*; they are all positive that there is nothing more frequent than to have large branches of fir thrown in upon these Western Islands with shells growing on them, in which the fœtus is enclosed, where they are to be seen with bills, wings, legs, feathers, and everything previous to life.

A divine I since met with assured me he has seen them have

actual motions; and another (of great worth) that, upon keeping them out of water, they will in few days putrefy, and smell intolerably. This was the utmost I could learn of this matter. About the Abbey I observed the ground very moist and rank; it produces several sorts of weeds and herbs, one of which they showed me, in the court of the Nunnery, near four foot high; I did not then know the name, but by the description Mr. Bobart supposes it to be the *solanum lethale*, or *deadly nightshade*; it has large purple stalks, thick, fat leaves, and black buds of a three-square figure; and travellers, I was told, gathered it with some sort of superstition. There is abundance of butter-dock about the church, and about the abbey henbane, &c., with other cooling herbs, which they say were planted by order of the founder. I had very little time to inquire after simples, for the night coming on, and supper ready, we went to a neat little cabin of the Lady MacLeod's; it was the first boarded house I had seen in those parts, and had been formerly prettily furnished; it had three good rooms belonging to it, and the Laird of Braw-lus, a gentleman of the same family (who had been an officer in Flanders) had provided us a good supper; excellent mutton, both roast and boiled, and we had fasted so long I was very hungry. But the want of drink was no small disappointment; however, we supped merrily, and afterwards made a bowl of milk-punch, which proved a good medicine against the fleas, and I slept as well as if I had had the best feather bed in England. Next morning early we began our journey homewards, and in our return found nothing curious or singular enough to deserve setting down here; especially when I consider how much I have already trespassed upon your patience in this prolix and bulky letter; so that I will here stop short, and conclude with assuring you that

I am, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Isle of Man, Sept. 7th, 1688.

W. S.

A

SHORT DISSERTATION

ABOUT THE

MONA OF CÆSAR AND TACITUS,

The several Names of *Man*,

WHETHER IT WAS THE

PRINCIPAL SEAT OF THE ANCIENT DRUIDS, &c.,

TOGETHER WITH

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE INSTITUTION, DISCIPLINE, AND
OPINIONS OF THE DRUIDS.

ADDRESSED IN A LETTER TO HIS LEARNED FRIEND MR. A. SELLERS.

BY MR. THOMAS BROWN.

A SHORT DISSERTATION ABOUT THE
MONA OF CÆSAR AND TACITUS,
THE SEVERAL NAMES OF MAN, &c.

SIR,—Having promised my worthy friend, Mr. Sacheverell, to lay together all that my little reading furnished me with relating to that controversy which has exercised so many critics, viz., whether the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus are the same, as some have asserted, or two different islands, as others affirm ; as likewise to give some short account of those famous philosophers and priests of the Western World, the Druids, their institutions, discipline, and peculiar opinions, and particularly whether their chief place of residence was Man, as Hector Boetius, and most of the Scottish writers after him, are pleased to maintain, though without the least countenance or authority from any authors of credit ; I thought I could not address a discourse of this nature to any one better than yourself, as well to give the world this testimony of the singular respect and esteem I have for you, and the honour I receive from your friendship ; as also to submit myself to your better judgment, if I have in any particular dissented from you.

You, indeed, if your weighty affairs would give you leave, are the fittest person I know to have undertaken the clearing of this difficulty, who are so intimately well versed in all ancient and modern history ; but since your other studies would not permit you to embark in this affair, I have endeavoured, not to perform what you would have executed with greater variety of learning and exactness of judgment—for I have not the vanity to imagine that—but to acquit myself, as far as I was able, of my promise to our common friend, Mr. Sacheverell.

The Isle of Man, which was first governed by Princes of its own, afterwards by those of the Scottish and Norwegian race, and at last devolved upon the Crown of England, has been the scene of so many surprising revolutions, that the history of it may very well deserve a place in the libraries of the curious. And if we add to this, that it had the honour to receive Christianity from the hands of St. Patrick, the famous Apostle of Ireland, and produced in the earliest ages a set of bishops eminent for the singular piety and austerity of their lives, I am of opinion that our friend rather wants an apology for keeping it by him so long, than suffering it now to appear.

This I am sure of, that accounts of places that are neither more considerable for extent of ground, number of people, or variety of action, have been published with the general approbation of this inquisitive age. The ingenious Dr. Fall has given us an accurate account of Jersey, which, in the year 1694, he dedicated to King William ; Dr. Wallace, a learned physician, and Fellow of the Royal Society, the *Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Natural History of the Isles of Orkney*, to which he has annexed an ingenious essay concerning the Thule of the ancients ; and lately one Mr. Martin, his countryman, has obliged the world with a very entertaining relation of the Isle of St. Kilda, which, although it is a perfect rock, and as if it were secluded from the rest of the world, yet I confess I took a great deal of pleasure in reading the manners and customs of those simple, unartificial people that inhabit it. Not to mention *An Account of the Isles of Feroc*, printed

in London, in the year 1676; and another of Samos, Niearia, and Patmos, three small islands in the Archipelago, by the Right Reverend Joseph Georgirenes, Bishop of Samos, in 1678, then resident in London. So much I thought necessary to premise, to show that our worthy friend has not misspent his time, as he imagines, in giving this *Account of the Isle of Man*; and, indeed, I am not a little proud that the world, in some measure, owes the publishing of it to my importunity, which otherwise his great modesty might have suppressed. But enough of this. To proceed, then, to the business in hand, the controversy now depending will best be dispatched by examining the words of Cæsar, and afterwards of Tacitus, and making those inferences from them which they will naturally bear.

Cæsar, then, in the Fifth Book of his *Commentaries*, having given a short relation of the length and breadth of Britain, its inhabitants, customs, commodities, and the like, when he comes to speak of Ireland, has the following passage:—"Dimidio minor, ut existimatur, quam Britannia, sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Galliâ est in Britanniam; in hoc medio cursu est insula quæ appellatur Mona; complures quoque minores objectæ insulæ existimantur." Which runs in English thus:—"Ireland, as it is supposed, is by one-half less than Britain, but the passage to it from thence is much the same as from Gaul to Britain. In the *midway* is an island, which is called Mona; and several other lesser islands are reported to be scattered thereabouts."

Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, wherein he occasionally gives an account of the several Deputies, or Lieutenants, that governed the Isle of Britain before him, speaking of Suetonius Paulinus, who immediately succeeded Veranius, expresses himself as follows:—"Suetonius hinc Paulinus Biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus, firmatisque præsiidiis. Quorum fiduciâ Monam Insulam, ut vires rebellibus ministrantem aggressus, terga occasione patefecit." That is:—"After him, Paulinus Suetonius for two years governed the island very prosperously, subdued several nations, and fortified his new acqui-

tions with strong garrisons. Encouraged with which success, he attacked the Island of Mona, upon pretence of its having assisted the rebels, and by that means gave the Britons an opportunity to raise disturbances in his absence." But in the Fourteenth Book of his *Annals* he gives a much more particular account of this expedition:—"Igitur Monam Insulam incolis validam, et receptaculum perfugarum aggredi parat, navesque fabricatur plano alveo adversus breve littus et incertum. Sie pedites; equites vado secuti, aut altiores inter undas adnantes equis transmisere." "Therefore, he prepared to attack Mona, a populous and powerful island, and a sure retreat upon all occasions to the revolvers; for which reason he built some flat-bottomed boats, as the best security against a dangerous and inhospitable shore. Thus the foot got over, and the horse followed, either upon the flats and shallows, or else where it was deeper swam it."

I think it is agreed on all hands that Tacitus's Mona is Anglesey, which is divided from Britain by a little *fretum*, not much broader than the Thames; and, indeed, it is so plain from the above-mentioned quotations, that I need not spend any more words about it. But it deserves our further examination, to see whether Cæsar's Mona agrees better with the Isle of Man, or Anglesey. His words are expressly, that Mona lies in the *mid-way* between Britain and Ireland; and this exactly agrees with the situation of Man, which is equally distant in the north from Galloway, in the west from Ulster, and in the east from Cumberland; but can by no means be applied to Anglesey, which is so far from being seated in the *medio cursu*, that it is only separated from Wales by a narrow arm of the sea, called Menai, which is almost fordable when the tide is out.

Indeed, if any conclusion were to be drawn from the similitude of names, it may seem no improbable conjecture that Mona was the ancient name both of Man and Anglesey; Man seeming to carry some resemblance of Mona in it, and the latter being still called by the Welch *Mon* and *Tyr Mon*, that is, *Terra Mona*, and

Inis Dowyl, i.e., the *Dark Island*, as that learned antiquary, Humphry Lhuyd, informs us. Indeed, when it came under the subjection of the English, these new masters called it *Englesea*, or *Anglesey*, that is, the *Isle of the Angles*. Thus Jersey, or Gearsey, is thought by Dr. Fall to be the same with Cæsar's Island, *ey* or *ea*, in the language of those Northern nations which over-ran Europe about a thousand years ago, signifying an *island*, and *Jer*, *Ger*, or *Gear*, a corruption of *Cæsar*; as Cherburgh, or Gerburgh, an ancient town of Normandy, is a contraction of *Cæsar's Burgum*. Thus, likewise, the Isle of Wight, by the Romans called *Veeta* and *Tectis*, was called by the English Saxons *Wiethea*; and that spot of ground near Oxford, which is surrounded by the Ouse or Isis, *Ousney*. But to return to our subject, from which this short digression has led me unawares.

What utterly destroys this opinion is, that by *Mona* all the rest of the ancient writers certainly mean Anglesey, and not the Isle of Man; for so do Pliny and Dion, who only make mention of the name, and no more; and that Tacitus's *Mona* is Anglesey, is beyond all dispute. It is, therefore, probable that Julius Cæsar, who only visited the Southern parts of Britain, might be mistaken in his relation, and appropriate that name to Man which belonged to Anglesey. The learned Cluverius has long ago observed, that Cæsar is not always to be depended upon, either in his historical or geographical accounts; for instance, we find he says of Britain that it produces trees of all sorts, except the beech and fir tree, *præter fagum atque abietem*; and yet I make no question but that the *fagus* was always an *indigena* of this island, as much as the oak or elm; and therefore Cæsar, because he observed no beeches in his march, concluded there were none in the whole island, or else he misunderstood or was deceived by those that brought him in his reports; which perhaps might happen to him in the business of *Mona*.

I do not say this with any intention to derogate from the reputation of Cæsar's history, which will always keep up its esteem in the world, but only to show that, as great a man as he was,

yet he was not exempt from falling into mistakes, of which it may not be improper, now my hand is in, to give two or three more instances. He tells us (l. i.) that the country of the Helvetians was two hundred and forty miles in length, and a hundred and eighty in breadth, which, as Cluverius remarks, is a gross mistake, for it is only a hundred and seventy miles long, and in the broadest place not above seventy-five broad. Thus, also (l. iii.), speaking of Aquitain, he affirms that, for extent of ground and number of inhabitants, it is to be reckoned the third part of Gaul; whereas Aquitain, which, in the beginning of his *Commentaries*, he bounds with the Garonne, the ocean, and the Pyrenees, if compared to the rest of Gaul, is hardly an eighth part of it.

Thus he says likewise of the Germans—"Neque Druides habent qui rebus Divinis præsent, neque sacrificiis student;" in both which particulars he is grossly mistaken. That they celebrated sacrifices, is not only plain out of Procopius, l. ii., where, speaking of the Sucones and Gutes, and other inhabitants of Scandinavia, he expressly tells us, that they offered victims of all sorts—*immolant omnis generis hostias*; but out of Pliny, who, mentioning the Celtæ, under which name the Germans are comprehended, says they offered sacrifice under trees—*sacrificiis epulisque rite sub arbore præparatis duos admovent candidi coloris tauros*; and lastly, out of Tacitus, in whom we find that the Suevi, a people of Germany, *cæso publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia*. And that they had Druids among them, Strabo, in his Fourth Book, wherein he speaks as well of the Germans as of the Gauls, sufficiently affirms in saying they performed none of their sacred ceremonies without them. Diodorus asserts the same; and, indeed, Cæsar himself owns that they worshipped the sun and moon and Vulcan for deities. Now, I would desire to know what nation in the world ever owned any gods but worshipped them, or worshipped them without priests to direct them in this worship? This shows Cæsar to have taken several things upon trust, that were apparently false. But, for

a concluding stroke, he affirms (l. vi.) that there is a sort of a bull in Germany, from the middle of whose forehead, exactly between his ears, there grows one horn, which is much taller and straighter than any other known horn. It is certain there is no such creature in Germany now; either it must be, therefore, that Cæsar reported things he never saw, or that the species of these animals is extinct, which nobody can imagine.

Thus it is not improbable that Cæsar might mistake, either in the name or situation of Mona; or, hearing a confused report of both these islands, confound one with the other, as commonly happens to the discoverers of new countries. Neither is this Cæsar's case alone, but several authors after him, when they come to give an account of Britain or Ireland, have fallen into as great mistakes. Florus, in his Third Book, cap. x., *de Bell. Gall.*, tells us that Julius Cæsar pursued some of the Britons into the Caledonian woods—*Britannos Caledonias sequutus in sylvas*; whereas that famous conqueror was so far from pursuing them into the Caledonian woods, which, by the testimony of all authors, are placed in the most northern extremity of the island, that he took but a superficial view of three or four, at most, of its southern counties. Solinus, speaking of Ireland, gravely affirms that the sea between that and Britain *nisi pauculis diebus non esse navigabile*—is only navigable a few days; then, that there are few birds there—*avem ibi rarem*; as likewise that there are no bees—*ibi apes nusquam*; whereas it abounds in both. Thus we may see that both the Roman historians and geographers are not infallible in their relations of other countries.

As for the various names that the Isle of Man has gone under, they are best learnt out of the authors that have taken occasion to speak of these matters, whom I will briefly run over. Pomponius Mela (who is supposed to have lived under the Emperor Claudius), and his transcriber Solinus, either knew nothing of this Island, or else thought it so inconsiderable that, without vouchsafing to mention it by name, they have thrown it among the Hebrides, or Æbudes. Pliny calls it *Monabia*, but says no

more of it ; Ptolemy, who flourished in Adrian's time, *Moneda* ; but Paulus Orosius, who lived about the middle of the fifth century, is a little more particular, for, speaking of Ireland, we find the following words :—" Hæc proprior Britannia, spacio terrarum angustior, cœli solisque" (it ought rather to be *solis*) "temperie magis utilis, a Scotorum gentibus colitur. Huic etiam *Mevania* Insula proxima est, et ipsa spacio non parva, solo commoda, æque a Scotorum gentibus habitatur." In English thus—"Ireland, as it lies nearer to Britain, so it is narrower as to extent of ground, is of a more favourable climate and soil, and is inhabited by the Scots. Next to this is the Island *Mevania*, not inconsiderable for its bigness, tolerably fertile, and is inhabited by the same people." After Orosius we find no mention of it in any author of note (in which number I am not willing to reckon the barbarous writers of the dark ages, and Hector Boetius) till we come to Buchanan, whose words (l. i., *Rerum Scot.*) are as follow :—"Insulæ circa Scotiam, quæ prisca utuntur lingua, quæque occidentales vocantur, ita fere se habent. Prima omnium est *Mana*, falso quibusdam dicta *Mona* ab antiquioribus *Eubonia* ; a Paulo Orosio, *Mevania*, aut potius *Manavia*, prisca enim lingua *Manim* dicitur. Superior ætas oppidum in ea Sodoram appellabat, in qua insulanorum Episcopus sedem habebat. Æquo fere spatio ab Hiberniâ, Gallovidiâ Scotiæ, et Cumbriâ Angli, provincia sita est. Viginti quatuor millia passuum in longum, octo in latum protenditur." That is—"The islands about Scotland, which still use their ancient language, and go by the name of the Western Isles, are as follow. The first of them is *Mana*, or *Man*, erroneously taken by some people for *Mona* ; by the ancient writers it is called *Eubonia* ; by Paulus Orosius, *Mevania*, or rather *Manavia*, for in the old language it is called *Manim*. The chief town was formerly called Sodor, where the Bishop of the Isles kept his see. It lies at an equal distance from Ireland, Galloway in Scotland, and Cumberland in England. It is twenty-four miles long, and eight in breadth." It is observable in this short account of Man, that Buchanan falls into the common mistake of his countrymen

about Sodor, which I think our learned friend has very handsomely accounted for in his Fourth Essay, p. 110 ; not to take notice that he is likewise mistaken about the length and breadth of the Isle ; but he says nothing of its being the principal seat of the Druids.

And this leads me now to examine upon what authority Man has been supposed to be the principal seat of these philosophers, as Hector Boetius, and after him abundance of writers, particularly Archbishop Spotswood (l. i. fol. 3) and (if I may be allowed, after a very good author, to cite a trifling plagiarist) Mr. Samms, have asserted. There is no countenance for this assertion either in Cæsar or Tacitus, or indeed any of the Roman historians. All that Julius Cæsar says of them—I mean, all that relates to the dispute in hand—is l. vi. of his *Commentaries*, where he says that “the discipline of the Druids was supposed to have had its first rise in Britain, and from thence to have come into Gaul, for which reason those that had a mind to be perfectly instructed in it” (of which more hereafter) “used to repair thither.”

Pliny seems to have been of Cæsar’s opinion, that the discipline of the Druids had its first beginning in Britain, as appears by these words—“*Britannia hodieque Magiam attonitè celebrat tantis cæremoniis, ut eam Persis dedisse videri possit.*” But Monsieur Godvin, the learned publisher of *Cæsar, in Usam Delphini*, when he comes to this passage, is pleased to declare himself to be of another opinion—“For,” says he, “since Britain derived everything from Gaul, it is not probable that it was invented there, but in Gaul, from whence it passed over thither with the Gaulish language and other customs, although it flourished and improved there much more than in Gaul.” “Thus we find,” continues he, “that Judæa, where the Christian religion had its birth, is much inferior in that respect to Italy and France, so that the principles of Christianity are much better learnt either at Rome or Paris than Jerusalem.” For my part, I am neither of Cæsar’s opinion that it began in Britain, nor of Monsieur Godvin’s, that Gaul gave the first rise to it ; but that it came

from the Eastern parts of the world, as I shall endeavour to demonstrate below.

I have often wondered how Druidism came to flourish more in Britain than Gaul, and cannot account for it. Whether it was that Britain, being more barbarous than Gaul, which had tolerably refined itself by frequent commerce with the Greeks and Romans, was consequently a fitter soil to breed and nourish superstition; or whether Gaul, being perpetually harassed by the Roman arms, and Helvetians, the chiefest Druids, who, to be sure, would carry the youth after them, by the Roman arms, or by irruptions of the Germans, retired to Britain as a place of more security, by the advantage of its situation; for much the same reason as Ireland, in the sixth and seventh century, was the greatest retreat of the learned men, when all other parts of Europe were infested by the inroads of the Northern nations, but lost their company again as soon as it came to be visited by the same barbarous people;—whether, I say, one or both of these reasons might occasion it, I will not pretend to determine, but only offer it as my private conjecture. Thus we find there is nothing in Cæsar to support this hypothesis, who only says that the ancient Gauls sent their young men into Britain to be more fully instructed in the discipline of the Druids than they could be at home, without saying one syllable that they kept their head quarters in Man. Nay, on the other hand, I think we may gather the quite contrary from Cæsar; for who can imagine that the Gauls would venture their youth to cross such a dangerous, troublesome sea as they needs must do before they could arrive at Man, in those ages, too, when they had only wicker boats to sail in?

Let us now proceed to examine what may be found in Tacitus for its justification. This historian, then, in the Fourteenth Book of his *Annals*, having related how Suetonius Paulinus, Lieutenant of Britain, had landed his foot in Mona, now Anglesey, while his cavalry either forded it or swam over, thus relates the action:—
“Stabat pro littore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, inter enr-

santibus fœminis in modum furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus dejectis faces præferebant. Druidæque circum preces diras sublatis ad cœlum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere militem, ut quasi hærentibus membris immobile corpus vulneribus præberent. Dein cohortationibus ducis, et se ipse stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa, sternuntque obvios, et igni suo involvunt. Præsidium post hac impositum vicis, exeisique luci sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant.” In English thus—“The enemy’s army stood thick on the shore to receive them, and their women in mourning habits, with their hair hanging loosely about their ears, ran between the ranks, and carried torches in their hands, like so many furies. The Druids, lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth most terrible execrations, amazed the soldiers with the strangeness of the sight, so that, standing stock still, they received the enemy’s wounds without returning them ; till at last, wrought upon by the encouragement of their general, and animating one another not to be afraid of a herd of women and enthusiasts, they marched on with their colours, beat down all they met, and incommoded them in their own fires. After this, they placed strong garrisons in the respective villages, and cut down their groves that were consecrated to their bloody superstition, for they held it lawful to sacrifice the captives they took in war, and to divine future events by prying into their bowels.” I have transcribed this passage of Tacitus at large, that I may not be suspected of concealing any part of it that makes against me. Well, then, let us now examine it. Why, all that we can gather from Tacitus is, that when the Romans made a descent upon Mona, the Druids (and any other priests would have done the same) were busy among the British soldiers to encourage them to repel these invaders ; but he gives not the least intimation that this was their academy, or nursery, which one would think he would hardly have omitted when he had so fair an opportunity. It may be easily imagined that when the Romans extended their con-

quests far and near in the Southern parts of Britain, the priests, with the women, neither of whom, generally speaking, love fighting, would naturally retreat to places that promised the greatest security—such as Anglesey may very well be esteemed, without supposing it the principal residence of their fraternity. I have a better opinion of the wisdom of the Druids, than to believe they would make either Man or Anglesey the chief seats of their sacerdotal empire, when they had the whole Isle of Britain before them to fix where they pleased ; for I am sure they ran counter to all the priesthood before and after them, if they quitted a most fertile and pleasant country, to settle in one that was inferior to it in every respect.

Besides, we may reasonably suppose that the Roman soldiers used the Druids but sparingly wherever they met them ; and this might be another reason that induced them to retire into Anglesey. Everyone that has read Suetonius knows that the Emperor Claudius utterly abolished the religion of the Druids, which Augustus before him had only prohibited in Rome, all over Gaul, upon the score of its inhuman cruelty. Pliny, indeed, ascribes this (l. xxx. c. 1) to Tiberius, and so does Strabo, who seems to have lived under his reign ; but which of these two did it, it is no great matter ; only it is to be supposed that, when their Emperors had gone so far towards the extirpation of the Druids in Gaul, the soldiers would not show them much civility here in Britain. In a time, therefore, of common distress, and especially afterwards, when the Christian religion had got some footing among us, I do not deny but some of them might retire to Anglesey, and, when that was subdued, to the Isle of Man ; but, to think that from the first institution of their order their chief seminaries were kept in either of these islands, before the Romans came to molest them, or the introduction of Christianity here obliged them to shift their old quarters, as it is supported by no authority but that of Heetor Boetius and his followers, or by vain, idle conjectures, so it is the most improbable thing in nature ; and I could as readily believe that the Popish missionaries

would rather choose to settle in Lapland and Nova Zembla than in France or England.

Indeed, had the Druids been a race of philosophers, that entirely devoted themselves to solitude and retirement, one might incline to think somewhat favourably of this opinion; but, unless all accounts that antiquity gives us of them have conspired to deceive us, they were civil magistrates, as well as observers of nature, or teachers of philosophy. They passed a definitive sentence in all controversies, both public and private; if any riot or murder was committed, or any difference happened about the boundaries of land or inheritances, they determined it by their sentence, *en dernier ressort*, and assigned both rewards and punishments as they saw fit; and if any one, let his rank or quality be never so high, presumed to dispute their orders or oppose their decrees, they immediately prosecuted him with their ecclesiastic thunder, and interdicted him from their sacrifices and assemblies, which was the greatest punishment that could be inflicted. In short, the whole scheme of their institution seems to me not so much calculated for silence and meditation as a stirring, active life; and since their solemn assemblies were held once a year, as Caesar tells us, in the midst of Gaul, for the easier resort, as it is to be presumed, of all persons to them, and the quicker despatch of business, we may reasonably conjecture that they took the same method in Britain; and therefore their primate, whose presence was so necessary among them to punish delinquents and put an end to all controversies, can hardly be supposed to have had his head quarters either in Anglesey or Man.

Having said enough to this point, I shall examine whether we of Britain had these Druids immediately from Greece or Gaul, or, lastly, what I look upon to be the most probable opinion, whether these famous Celtic philosophers, whose order spread itself over Germany, Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the smaller islands belonging to them, did not, like all the other professors of learning, come from the most Eastern parts of the world.

Mr. Samms, in his *Britannia Illustrata*, p. 18, speaking of

the places where the Greeks first landed here, tells us it is guessed by some to be the two islands, Man and Anglesey, or one of them, for the following reasons:—First, because the Druids, whose name proves them of a Greek original, principally resided in these two. This he confidently asserts, without citing any vouchers to back his assertion, and therefore it may be as easily rejected as it is proposed; neither is it so very certain as he imagines that their name is of Greek extraction, for, though Pliny derives it from *δρῦς*, an oak, because that tree was in great veneration with them, yet it is only his conjecture; and, for my part, I think we may as well look for the derivation of *Flamen* in the Teutonic, as he does for that of *Druid* in the Greek language. Alfrie, in his *Saxon-Latin Glossary*, tells us the Saxons in Britain called a magician *dry*. Now, we have already shewn that the Germans, as well as the Gauls, called their priests, or wise men, *Druids*; why, then, may we not derive their name from this word, which exactly answers the opinion these people had of the Druids, rather than from one of foreign growth, which has only a relation to one part of their worship? I know there are other etymologies of the word, for the Pseudo-Berosus supposes them to be named from Druyus, the fourth King of the Gauls; Goropius Becanus, from the British words *tru* and *wis*, signifying a *wiseman*. But, not to lose any more time in so fruitless a disquisition, Monsieur Godvin, in my opinion, is in the right, where he says—“*Verisilime est Gallos illis Gallicum nomen imposuisse, non peregrinum.*”

The next reason Mr. Samms produces why they should come from Greece is, because they used Greek characters, according to Cæsar’s testimony, whose words are—“*In reliquis ferè rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis literis utuntur.*” It is true, they used the Greek letters, but no necessary inference can be drawn from thence that they used the same language. For instance, we see the *Syriac Targum* is written in Hebrew letters, yet the Syriac alphabet is of a different form from that of the Hebrew. Thus likewise the Italians, English, and French, and

most nations in Europe use the Roman letters in writing, though they do not express themselves in that tongue. If these two instances do not make the case plain, Cæsar himself tells us that he writ a Greek letter to Q. Cicero, when he was straitened by the Nervians, on purpose that if it fell into the enemy's hands, they might not be able to understand it. This is proof sufficient that the Gauls were unacquainted with their language, though they used their letters. Besides, Cicero himself assures us that Divitiaeus, who was one of the most learned Druids of Gaul, understood no Greek, which was the reason that Cæsar was obliged to converse with him by an interpreter, which otherwise he needed not to have done, since he understood Greek as well as his own native language. Upon the same foot that the Druids made use of the Greek characters, the Helvetians, in all probability, used them too, for Cæsar says, (l. i.)—"In castris Helveticorum tabulæ repertæ sunt Græcis literis confectæ." These people no more spoke Greek, than the Spaniards now speak Dutch; however, they used their letters as well as the Gauls did, who borrowed them, as we may probably suppose, from the Massilians. Besides, as Cæsar informs us, the Druids would not suffer their disciples to take down any of their precepts or maxims in writing, in which point they needed not have been so very scrupulous, if they had delivered their notions to them in a foreign language.

Others believe the Druids to have been of Greeian extraction because they used human sacrifices. Indeed, if the Greeks had been the only people in the world that offered these barbarous immolations to their deities, the argument would be very forcible; but what nation do we find under the reign of Paganism that was not more or less polluted with this execrable superstition? The Carthaginians used to sacrifice men to Saturn, and though required by Darius, King of Persia, to leave off this savage custom (*Just.*, l. xix. c. 1), yet Curtius (l. iv.) observes that they kept up this sacrilegious ceremony, as he calls it, which they had learnt of their first founders, the Tyrians, till the very

destruction of their city. Nay, Tertulian tells us, in his *Apology*, (cap. iii.) that they continued it to his time clandestinely. The Ammonites used these sacrifices in Moses's days, from whom perhaps the Jews borrowed them. The Ægyptians burnt men alive to Typhon, the Neurians offered human sacrifices to Mars, the Latins to the Goddess Ægeria, the Albans to the moon; and Minutius Fælix says of the Romans—"Hodie ab ipsis Romanis Latiaris Jupiter mali, et noxii hominis sanguine satiatur." In short, these barbarous rites were observed all the world over, as they are still in America, and the southern parts of Africa; therefore no concluding argument can be brought that the Druids came originally from Greece, because they used human sacrifices; which Cæsar, however, needed not to think so strange in them, since Dion (l. xliii) tells, that on the very day of his triumph two men were sacrificed in the Campus Martius, upon what occasion he did not know, by the priest of Mars.

But suppose the Druids came from Greece immediately into Gaul, and so into Britain, yet this does not hinder but that their institution and principles might come originally from the East. As mankind was first planted there, so learning has been observed to have flourished first in these parts of the world, and from thence to have been propagated into other countries. Thus we find Pythagoras, the celebrated father of the Italian philosophy, and to mention no more, Thales, borrowed all their notions from thence; but the truth of this assertion will more evidently appear by examining the principal opinions and customs of the Druids.

The first is, the Immortality of the Soul, which was their principal, and, in relation to the Romans, their distinguishing doctrine. Strabo (l. iv.), Val. Maximus (l. v.), Diodorus Siculus (l. vi.), Mela (l. iii.), Lucan (l. i.), and Cæsar (l. vi.) are all agreed that this was their constant belief. But in all probability this doctrine had been long received in the East before it got any footing in these North-West parts of the world. Strabo (l. xv.)

tells us that this was the opinion of the Braehmans, the famous philosophers of the Eastern nations, and thus handsomely expresses it—"They look upon this life to be no better than the state of a new-born infant, but that to such as have governed themselves by the rule of wisdom, death is a birth to that which is properly called life, and is truly happy." Porphyry, l. iv. *de non edendis animal.*, has something to the same purpose. Herodotus, in his *Euterpe*, tells us that this was the persuasion of the Ægyptians; and Pomponius Mela (l. ii.) says of the Thracians—"Alii redituras putant animas obeuntium; alii etsi non redeant non extinguere tamen, sed ad beatiora transire," for which reason they used to rejoice, and not grieve at the funerals of their friends. And this belief of theirs, says Grotius, gives some probability to a passage we find in the *Scholiast*, upon Aristophanes, who says that some Jews formerly came into Thraee. This doctrine, therefore, seems first to have come out of Asia into these remote parts. Xamolxis taught it to the Getes, who were, therefore, called immortal; and Odin afterwards cultivated it among the Western Goths, our ancestors.

The next to this is the Transmigration of Souls, thus expressed by Cæsar (l. vi.)—"Non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios putant." This, too, was the famous doctrine of the Braehmans, which Pythagoras, a hearer of those sages, as one Alexander, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, affirms, brought with him out of the East into Greece, and which, if we may believe the modern itineraries, is the received opinion of the Bramins in the East Indies, to this very day. The Jews, who thought Elias was risen again in Christ, were of the same belief, and in all probability borrowed it from the Assyrian Magi, called the Chaldeans, in whose academies we may believe very considerable and useful learning was professed, since Daniel did not refuse the prefecture over them.

Among other customs that are reported to have been observed by the Druids, some of them in all probability came from the East, as well as the above mentioned doctrines. For instance,

Cæsar tells us that the Gauls used to compute their time not by the number of days but nights. Tacitus observes the same of the Germans; and this practise, which undoubtedly had its first rise from the Mosaical account of the creation, where the evening and the morning are said to make the day, is still kept up by the Polanders, the Bohemians, and by ourselves, who owe it to our Saxon ancestors, that brought it along with them out of Germany. Now every one knows that the Jews observed this manner of computation, so did the Phœnicians likewise, and from them the Athenians. The Druids had another custom no less remarkable, and that was of excommunicating all such offenders, whom they found refractory and obstinate. "*Siquis privatus aut publicus,*" says Cæsar (l. vi.), "*eorum decreto non stetit sacrificiis interdicunt.*" Whether the Brachmans and Chaldeans had any such discipline among them, I am not at leisure now to inquire, though one can hardly imagine how any religious societies could maintain their authority with the people without some such institution as this, but that the Jews had it, it is most certain, among whom to be deprived the benefit of the Synagogue, was the severest punishment they had. Neither was the ecclesiastical censure unknown to the Athenians, for Demosthenes, in his oration against Æschines, cites an old law of Draco, by which homicides were excluded from sacrifices and libations, and in short, from all religious, as well as civil assemblies. Thus we find in Cornelius Nepos, and Justin (l. v.), that Alcibiades incurred this punishment for discovering the mysteries of Ceres.

I will only take notice of one other custom the Druids observed in the institution of their disciples, and then conclude. Cæsar, and the rest that give us any account of their manners and way of living, all agree that they delivered their precepts in verse, which they obliged their followers to get by heart, but held it unlawful to commit them to writing and this they did upon a double account, as well to cultivate the memory of their young novices, as to conceal their learning from the vulgar. For the same reason, without question, the Eastern philosophers, and

particularly the Ægyptians, either conveyed all their learning in a language which the people did not understand, or so disguised it under parables, that it was above the reach of common apprehensions. From either of these, therefore, the Druids might have copied this policy; and if what Archbishop Spotswood says of them be true—viz., that they worshipped only one God, and held it unlawful to represent him in any image (both of which, upon examination, I hardly think will hold water)—we have yet a clearer proof that they borrowed the best and soundest part of their theology from the ancient Eastern sages, that were always professed enemies to polytheism and idolatry, and adored one Supreme Being, without any idol or representation.

But I forget whom I am talking to all this while, for though your candour, as I am apt to flatter myself, may incline you to forgive me the persecution of this long and unmerciful letter, yet when I consider that I have been exposing my ignorance to a person of your great learning and penetration, I blush at the freedom I have taken. For this reason, I will here drop my subject, and only beg leave to assure you that I am,

Sir, your most obliged and

Most obedient servant,

London, June 27, 1702.

T. BROWN.

NOTES.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

NOTE 1—page 1.

The family of the Sacheverells is very ancient. The visitation of 1509 derives it from Patrick Sacheverell, Lord of Hopwell, in the time of Edward I. Thoroton, however (Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, page 50), commences the pedigree five generations earlier, with John Sacheverell, who married a coheirress of Fitz-Ercald. The family possessed at one time many lordships in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire—chiefly at Barton, near Nottingham, at Morley, and at Ratcliffe-on-Soar. Their manor-house at Barton has long since been pulled down, and the property sold to the Clifton family. Robert Sacheverell, to whom our author dedicates his book, and whom he styles his “kinsman, and head of his family,” was the son of William Sacheverell, Esq., of Barton, who was a Member in several Parliaments, and a Minister of William III. He represented Derbyshire from 1661 to 1680, and Nottinghamshire from 1680 to 1690. He died in 1691. This William Sacheverell married first Maria, eldest daughter of William Staunton, Esq., in the county of Nottingham, by whom he had five sons and four daughters—viz., Henry, William, Radulph, Mary, William, Elizabeth, Jocosa, Robert, and Catherine. Of these, Henry, Radulph, both the Williams, and Catherine died young, in their mother's lifetime. She herself died on the 19th of August, 1664. Her only surviving son, Robert (to whom this work is dedicated), married Elizabeth Staunton, daughter of William de Staunton, and by her had one only child, Elizabeth, married to Edward Pole, of Radbourne, an ancestor of the present Edward Sacheverell Chandos Pole, Esq., who is thus the representative of the family on the female side; the male line becoming extinct in Henry, nephew of the above Robert, who died in 1724, aged 15. Robert, the head of the family, died in 1714.

On the death of his first wife, Mary, William, the father of the above Robert, married Jane Newton, daughter of Sir John Newton, Baronet, of Barascote, county Gloucester, by whom he had one son, William, who may have been our

author, who would in this case have been half-brother to the Robert whom he names as his kinsman. This William married Alicia Sitwell, by whom he had two sons, William, who died A.D. 1723, aged 16, and Henry, who died A.D. 1724, aged 15, both without issue. There are many and interesting monuments of the Sacheverell family in the parish church at Ratcliffe, and the church of Morley, near Derby, is almost filled with them. There are also several in Barton Church.

Monument in Morley Church :—Here lies the body of William Sacheverell, Esq., son and heir of Henry Sacheverell, late of Barton, in the county of Nottingham, Esq., who served his king and country with great honour and fidelity in several Parliaments. He left issue by his first wife, Robert, Elizabeth, and Joyce; and by his second wife, William, John, Edward, and Jane, and died the 9th day of October, A.D. 1691. On the side of the above monument, which is an altar tomb, is the following inscription :—Here also lyeth the body of Mrs. Jane Sacheverell, second wife to William Sacheverell, of Barton, in the county of Nottingham, Esq., by whom he had issue William, John, Jane, Edward, and Abigail. She was daughter of Sir John Newton, of Barascote, in the county of Gloucester, and was buried March the 24th, 1709. In Barton Church we have the following monuments :—At the north-east end, on the ground, one of alabaster, with this inscription, for William Sacheverell, son of the above-mentioned William Sacheverell, of Morley.—“Hic jacet corpus Gulielmi Sacheverelli de Barton, in comitatu Nottinghamiensi, armigeri, Gulielmi Sacheverell de Barton predicto, armigeri, et Janæ, secundæ thalami sociæ, Johanni Newton, Baronetto, Lincolnensi, prognatæ filii natu maximi. Uxorem Aliciam, prius in cœlum regressam ipse, sibi non suis feliciter, secutus est, quinto die Septembris, A.D. 1715.” Another monument in the same church, to Mary Sacheverell, the wife of the first-named William Sacheverell, has the subjoined inscription :—“Hic jacet corpus Mariæ Sacheverelli filiæ natu maximæ Gulielmi Staunton, nuper Staunton, in comitatu Nottinghamiensi, armigeri, uxoris Gulielmi Sacheverell de Morley, in comitatu Derbiensi, armigeri, hujus Manerii Domini qui ex cæ suscepit Henricum, Gulielmum, Radulphum, Mariam, Gulielmum, Elizabetham, Jocosam, Robertum, et Catherinam. Ex quibus quatuor filii cum unâ filiâ matre adhuc Superstitio nec non acerbam Supradicti Henrici primogeniti hic itidem sepulti mortem supra quam ferre valuit, defuncte, supremam diem obierunt. Maria vero, Elizabetha, Jocosa, et Roberto in vivis relictis, ipsa decimo nono die Augusti Anno Domini MDCLXXIV. vitam cum morto commutavit.” There is good reason for believing that the sculptor has inserted an X too much in the last-named date, and that it ought to read MDCLXIV. In the chancel of Barton Church, on the south side, is a monument for Henry Sacheverell; and on the south-east end one for Radulph, or Ralph, Sacheverell. There are also others in the same church. I have not been able to connect with this family the famous Dr. Henry Sacheverell, son of the Rev. Joshua Sacheverell, rector of St. Peter's Church, Malbro', and Prebendary of Sarum, who was tried for high crimes and misdemeanours (see vol. iii., p.

293 of *Celebrated Trials*), and who is mentioned in a note to Dr. Johnson's *Life of Addison*, page 77 of Murphey's edition of *Johnson's Works*, vol. x., 8vo., London, 1801. He may have been a descendant of one of the fourteen children of Radulph Sacheverell, the great great grandfather of the William presumed to be our author, of which children we have no pedigree. The family was Dorsetshire, and lived at Eaststoke. Dr. Henry Sacheverell had a considerable estate left him at Callow, in Derbyshire, by George, son of Valence Sacheverell, Lord of the Manor of Newhall, Warwickshire, and who was a natural son of Henry Sacheverell, of Barton. The arms of the Sacheverell family are, "Argent on a saltire, az., five water-bougets or." For the pedigree appended at the end of the Notes, I am indebted, partly, to Thoroton's *History of Nottinghamshire*, and more especially to the kindness of the Rev. Samuel Fox, rector of Morley, and also to the valued labours of the Rev. George Dodds, D.D., rector of Great Corringham, Lincolnshire. For further details, consult Harl. Collection, British Museum—1082, fo. 77.b; 1093, fo. 78.b; 1400, fo. 356, 3.b; 1431, fo. 8; 1555, fo. 63 (a. b.); 6125, fo. 4.b; 6128, fo. 109.b.

NOTE 2—page 1.

The young nobleman here referred to was *probably* James Lord Strange, son of William, ninth Earl of Derby, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Ossory, and granddaughter of James, Duke of Ormond. He died at Venice, on his travels in the twentieth year of his age. He had been pupil to Thomas Wilson, afterwards the Apostolic Bishop of the Isle of Man. The following story is related of him:—One day, as he was about to set his name to a paper which he had not read, Mr. Wilson dropped upon his finger some hot sealing-wax. The sudden pain made him angry, but his tutor soon pacified him by observing that he did it in order to impress a lasting remembrance on his mind, never to sign or seal any paper he had not first read and examined. In him the male line of the House of Derby, descended from the famous James, seventh Earl, beheaded at Bolton, may be said really to have terminated, though his father survived him two years, and his uncle James, tenth and last Earl, did not die till 1735.

NOTE 3—page 1.

The above-named William Sacheverell. On the supposition that he was the father of our author by the second wife, we can comprehend the force of the observation, "to whose prudence and conduct, during my minority, I in so great a measure owe my well-being."

NOTE 4—page 3.

In the present edition the errata have been corrected.

NOTE 5—page 4.

The celebrated author, Joseph Addison, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. See page 17 of the text.

NOTE 6—page 5.

The work of James Chalouet, Governor of the Isle of Man from 1658 to 1660, is printed as an appendix to King's *Vale Royal of Cheshire*, published in 1656.

It is entitled *A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, digested in Six Chapters*. The work is very scarce, and will be printed by the Manx Publication Society in due course. Chaloner was at first appointed in 1652, along with Robert Dinely, Esq., and the Rev. Jonathan Witton, a commissioner under Lord Fairfax, for governing the Isle of Man.

NOTE 7—page 5.

Probably Mr. Blundell, of Crosby, who retired to the Isle of Man in the time of the Commonwealth. See page 2 of *A Compleat History of the Isle of Man*, by John Seacome, appended to his *Memorials of the Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley*, quarto edition, 1740. Seacome's history seems almost a reprint of Sacheverell's *Account of the Isle of Man*, without acknowledgment, unless we suppose that both Sacheverell and Seacome printed word for word from Mr. Blundell's MS. In the preface to my *Isle of Man: its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Legendary*, page 10, I have given my reasons for believing that the MS. now in possession of Mark Hildesley Quayle, Esq., Clerk of the Rolls, in the Isle of Man, is the work referred to by Sacheverell, or in other words, is the identical MS. of Mr. Blundell. It is hoped that permission will be granted to the Manx Publication Society to print this MS. The references in the margin of it are very full and valuable, and may throw great light upon some difficult points in the history of the Isle of Man at the time of the Scotch conquest. See below, Note 77.

NOTE 8—page 5.

William Camden, author of the *Britannia*, was born in the Old Bailey, May 2nd, 1551. His father, Sampson, was a painter; his mother, one of the ancient family of the Curweus, of Cumberland. The first edition of his great work came out in 1586, dedicated to Lord Burleigh. In four years it ran through six editions, and in 1607 he put to it his last corrections. Gibson, in his edition, 1695, made large additions from Chaloner, and many passages are almost word for word with our author. I am led, therefore, to suspect that Sacheverell had Gibson's edition before him, as well as Blundell's MS., when he wrote his account. The first portion of Camden's account of the Isle of Man is said to have been drawn up by John Merriek, Bishop of the Isle from 1577 to 1599; the latter portion is taken chiefly from the *Chronicle of Man and the Isles*, written by the Monks of Rushen Abbey, up to the year 1270 (the time of the Scottish conquest), and continued a few years longer probably by the Monks of Furness Abbey. See below, Note 89.

NOTE 9—page 6.

Usher. The question as to the origin of the title of "Bishop of Sodor and Man" is discussed Note 87 *infra*.

NOTE 10—page 6.

See Note 87 *infra*.

NOTE 11—page 6.

The Isle of Man is undoubtedly subject to violent storms of wind, but by no

means is its air, as our author states (page 11), "by reason of its northerly situation, sharp and cold." Its mean annual temperature is actually higher than that of any country in Europe of the same degree of latitude; and the mean winter temperature is as high as that of the Isle of Wight and the South coasts of England.

NOTE 12—page 6.

It is important to notice this statement of our author. The Canons of the Manx Church are part of the Statute Law of the Isle of Man, and I am not aware that any of them have been formally repealed, though it seems difficult to reconcile with them some Acts of the Legislature passed in late years. Mr. Train, in his History of the Isle of Man, seems to accuse Bishop Wilson of undue severity in the exercise of church discipline; and to support his views, misquotes the remarkable words of Lord Chancellor King in reference to the good Bishop's ecclesiastical code. The Lord Chancellor states that if the ancient discipline of the Church were lost elsewhere, "it might be found in all its *purity* in the Isle of Man." Mr. Train, for the word "*purity*," has substituted "*pomp*." A woful change took place in the character of some of the Bishops shortly after the Lordship of the Isle passed from the Stanley family; even the excellent and pious Hildesley was not altogether free from Latitudinarian views.

NOTE 13—page 6.

Lord Chief Justice Coke. See Coke's *Fourth Institute*, cap. lxix.

NOTE 14—page 7.

This is still true in reference to the Manx portion of the Insular community. But, though there is a law compelling every master of a ship who brings paupers to the Isle, to carry them away again free of cost, and which has often been put in force in the memory of many living, the number of foreign beggars has very largely increased in late years. There is no poor-law in the Isle of Man, and the Manx, generally speaking, think it a disgrace to allow their poor relations to subsist on charity. For the aged and infirm some provision is made by the weekly offertory in the churches.

NOTE 15—page 7.

See *infra* page 29, and Note 56.

NOTE 16—page 8.

Possibly this may be from *gál*, a *foreigner*. The Northmen were termed *Dubh-Gáls* and *Fin-Gáls*, i.e., *Black Foreigners* and *White Foreigners*.

NOTE 17—page 8.

See *infra* Note 22, on the "name of the Isle of Man."

NOTE 18—page 8.

It may be well to note here that the name *Sodor*, about which there has been much foolish controversy, is nothing more than a corruption of the name *Sudocr*, or *Southern Islands*. See more fully *infra* Note 87.

NOTE 19—page 9.

The *Comes* was the Norwegian *Jarl*, whence our English title *Earl* was derived

The Vikings (Vik-ings, not Vi-kings), who over-ran the Western Isles, though exercising the rights of independent sovereigns in the countries they possessed, were but vassals of the Scandinavian monarchs, and (as we shall see in the history of the Kings of Man) were not unfrequently called in to do homage to their liege lords in those countries whence their ancestors had set out on their predatory expeditions.

NOTE 20—page 9.

The Ecclesiastical Barons were—the Bishop of Sodor and Man, the Abbot of Rushen, the Prioress of Douglas, the Prior of Whithorn (or St. Trinion), in Galloway, the Abbot of Bangor, the Abbot of Saball, the Abbot of Furness, and the Prior of St. Bede, in Copeland. In the days of Sir John Stanley, these Barons were called on to do homage in their proper persons to him, as Lord of the Isle, and the temporalities of those who refused to appear, and to do faith and fealty, were adjudged as forfeited to the Lord.

NOTE 21—page 9.

When Sacheverell wrote, the patronage of the Bishopric was in the Stanley family. It was purchased, together with the advowsons of fourteen benefices, from the Atholl family, in 1825, by the British Government, for the sum of £100,000. The total sum paid by the British Government for the Manorial Rights, Customs, Revenue, &c., was £340,000, which included

Customs Revenue	...	...	...	£150,000
Rents and Alienation Fine	...	...	...	34,000
Tithes, Mines, Quarries, &c.	...	...	...	132,114
Patronage of Bishop, &c.	...	...	...	100,000
				<hr/>
				£416,114

NOTE 22—page 10.

On an ancient cross in the wall of the churchyard of Kirk Michael we find the name of the Island spelt in old Runic characters, "Maun." It is thus evident that the broad sound was given to the *a* in Mān, and the *o* in Mōn, or Mona; and this explains, in some measure, the various orthographies of the name of this little Island. I am of opinion that the name anciently given to it, in common with Anglesey, had to do with the reputed holy character of the Isle, as the *Sedes Druidarum*, the abode of the holy wise men; and that it has the same connection with the Sanscrit root, *Mān*, in reference to *religious knowledge*, as our word *Monk*, so also *Moonshee*, and the names of ancient lawgivers, as *Manu*, son of Brahma, *Menu*, *Minos*, and *Menes*. The *b* in the term *Eubonia*, under which it is mentioned by some ancient writers (as Gildas), is due simply to the interchange of certain consonants, as *m*, *b*, and *v*, in the Celtic languages.

NOTE 23—page 10.

The natives call it *Ellan Vannin*—Isle of Man; or more commonly, *Ellan Vannin veg veen*—Dear little Isle of Man. The following is a synopsis of the various epithets under which it has been described:—

Cæsar and Tacitus.	Mona.
Ptolemy.	<i>Μοναοῖδα, Μοναρίνα, and Μονανήσος.</i>
	Monaoida, Monarina, and Monancsos.
Pliny.	Monabia.
Orosius.	Menavia.
Bede.	Menavia Secunda.
Gildas.	Manau, and Eubonia.
Norwegians.	Maun.
Britons.	Menow.
Manx.	Mannin, or Ellan Vannin.
English.	Man, or Mann.

NOTE 24—page 10.

The idea is borrowed from Gildas, who terms it the "navel" of the Irish Sea ; or from Camden, who says—"More northward lieth that Mona whereof Cæsar maketh mention, in the midst of the cut, as he saith, between Britain and Ireland."

NOTE 25—page 10.

This phenomenon in natural history often adverted to, if correct, may probably be traced to certain geological considerations affecting both Ireland and the Isle of Man. There is no doubt that in former times England, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, were connected with the Continent of Europe by an upraised gravel terrace, which has subsequently been in part removed by the action of the sea, though considerable traces of it still remain. Presuming on the distribution of various animals from specific centres, and that the separation of the Isle of Man and Ireland took place earlier than that of England from the Continent, we can understand how certain races of reptiles might find their way into England, and be stopped in their further progress westward. The late Professor Edw. Forbes, in a paper which he kindly communicated to me, and printed in Appendix S to my *Isle of Man: its History, &c.*, has ably shown how the *flora* of the Isle was influenced by the same geological conditions.

NOTE 26—page 11.

There is now only one Vicar-General. The change was made but a few years ago (1847), and is the last subtraction made from the weight of the Church in the Council of Government of the Isle. The present Vicar-General is also a layman.

NOTE 27—page 11.

Le More, or the *Moar*, is a Manx parish officer, whose chief duty is to collect the Lord's rents and escheats, fines on alienation, waifs, estrays, and decodands. This office of Moar falls upon the proprietor of each quarterland in the several parishes by rotation, such rotation being certified by the Setting Quest at a Court Baron held each year.

NOTE 28—page 12.

Skyhill, near Ramsey, the scene of an interesting event in Manx history. See *Antiquitates Celto-Normanicae*, p. 7.

NOTE 29—page 12.

In the ancient map of the Isle of Man, 1595, "performed by Thomas Durham," and given by Camden, Chaloner, and in Bleau's *Atlas*, we notice the existence of lakes in the northern district. The lake of Mirescogh, or Myresshaw, was the most important, and as late as 1505 we read of a grant of one-half of the fishery of it being made to Huau Hesketh, Bishop of Man, by Thomas, Earl of Derby. In Johustone's *Antiquitates Celto-Normanicae*, page 49, we find mention made of three islands in this lake, one of which was a state prison, the scene of a notable miracle, detailed by the Monks of Rushen in the *Chronicon Manniae*, page 39.

NOTE 30—page 12.

John Greenhalgh, of Brandlesome, who governed and maintained tranquillity in the Isle of Man from 1640 to 1651. See his character as given by the great Earl of Derby in a letter to his son, published in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, and a curious history of his portrait in my *Story of Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey*, page 39.

NOTE 31—page 13.

The Laughtown, Loagtyr, or Lugh-dhoan (*lugh*, mouse, and *dhoan*, brown), is the name given to a peculiar breed of Manx sheep, having a dirty-brown fleece, formerly common on the Island, but now almost extinct.

NOTE 32—page 13.

See Chaloner's *Description*, page 21.

NOTE 33—page 13.

The red deer have long since disappeared from the Island. That they were formerly plentiful, there can be no doubt; the old laws have often reference to them, and they are frequently represented on the Runic crosses scattered over the Isle. The magnificent species of deer *cervus megaceros*, or Irish elk, once occupying the Island, became extinct at a much earlier date. Fine fossil specimens are found in deposits of shell marl, and gravel pits in many parts, but especially in the Curragh in the Northern district.

NOTE 34—page 14.

This is a mistake of Sacheverell. The name *Arbory* has nothing to do with the word *arbor*, a tree, as he imagines, but is a corruption of the name of St. Cairbre, a disciple of St. Patrick. In the old map of the Island before referred to, we find the name of the place within *Kirk Kercbrey*. In the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 29th year Ed. I., amongst the presentations to benefices in the Isle of Man we read—"Alanus de Wygeton habet litteras de presentatione ad Ecclesiam Sancti Carber, in Man vacantem, et ad donationem Regis spectantem regione terræ de Man in manu Regis existentis; et dirigantur litteræ Episcopo Sodorensi. Testo Rege apud Berwick-super-Twede, xii. die Jun." By an easy transition *Kirk Cairbre*, or *Kirk Kercbrey*, has passed into *Kirk Arbory*. So the name of another parish, *Kirk Conaghan*, or *Kirk Conchan*, is now generally given *Kirk Onchan*.

NOTE 35—page 14.

The district about Brada Head was formerly the great ruining ground of the

Isle of Man, and was then for a long time neglected, more attention being paid to the neighbourhood of Foxdale and Laxey. Lately the Mine Hangh, in the parish of Kirk Arbory, has been reopened, with considerable promise. There is hardly any portion of the British Isles so rich in silver, lead, zinc, copper, and iron as the Isle of Man.

NOTE 36—page 14.

See ante Note 6. Though the climate of the Isle of Man is damp, and the sky very much overclouded, the mean annual fall of rain is not more than 26 inches. The mean annual temperature is 48.789° Fahrenheit; mean winter temperature 41.953°; mean summer temperature, 55.694°. See, for tables of temperature, &c., my *Isle of Man: its History*, &c., page 364, &c.

NOTE 37—page 15.

The Manx version of the Bible was completed under Bishop Mark Hildesley, who received the last portion of it on Saturday, Nov. 28th, 1772. On the following Monday he was seized with the palsy, and died on the 7th of the ensuing month. The Manx Bible was first printed in one vol. 4to., and in three vols. 8vo., between the years 1772 and 1776, by Ware, at Whitehaven. The Manx Prayer-book was first printed by Oliver, in London, in the year 1765. The work of printing was aided by very large grants from the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

NOTE 38—page 15.

It hardly needs to be noticed that the Manx belongs to the Gaelic division of the Celtic language, and approaches to the Erse and Gaelic as spoken in Ireland and the North of Scotland so far as to enable Manxmen generally to understand a person speaking slowly in either of those languages. I am not aware that there is now any great distinction between the dialects of the North and South of the Island, and it appears far from improbable that in another generation the Manx, as a spoken language, may altogether die out; I doubt whether at the present time there are any persons on the Island who know no English.

NOTE 39—page 16.

The date 947 was found on an old oak beam in taking down some portion of the Castle not many years ago (1815), and has been fixed on as the period of the erection of some portion of the venerable edifice. Whatever doubts may be thrown upon the character of this inscription, and the time when it was placed upon the beam, none can exist as to the great antiquity of the building itself in which it was found; and the tradition that it was commenced by Guthred, in the middle of the 10th century, seems grounded on many probabilities. It is mentioned in all the earliest records.

NOTE 40—page 16.

Named, as it would appear from the following document in the Rolls Office, Isle of Man, in honour of his noble Countess, Charlotte de la Tremouille. *Liber Scaccar*, 1645, Castle Rushen:—"Be it recorded that James, Earl of Derby, Lord of Man, being in his Lordship's fort in St. Michael's Isle, the 26th of April, 1645,

the day twelvemonths that the House of Latham, having been besieged close near three months, and gallantly defended by the great wisdom and valour of the illustrious Lady Charlotte, Countess of Derby, by her Ladyship's direction the stout soldiers of Latham did make a sallie, and beate the enemy round out of all their works, saving one, and miraculously did bring the enemy's great mortar-piece into the house, for which the thanks and glorie is given unto God; and my Lord doth name this fort Derby Fort."

NOTE 41—page 16.

Though Sacheverell's work was printed in 1702, at which time James, the tenth and last Earl of Derby of that line, had succeeded to the Isle of Man, it is most probable that he here refers to William, the ninth Earl (elder brother of James), and who died in 1702, having been Lord of the Isle from 1672. Chaloner, writing in 1653, says (page 52 of his *Description*)—"At Ramsey there are a few guns mounted;" and—"It were to be wished that some fortification were made about the Point of Ayre, which the Earl of Derby, in the time of the late troubles, did perform, but now neglected and ruined."

NOTE 42—page 17.

The probability or possibility of finding coal is very small. All the *known* rocks of the Island, excepting the glacial drift, lie *beneath* the coal measures of Great Britain. It is just possible, though far from probable, that the gravels and sands of the Northern portion of the Island may rest upon some of the higher portions of the carboniferous series, outliers of the Whitehaven coal-field.

NOTE 43—page 18.

Feltham has copied this piece of scandal. The well of St. Maughold is, however, still held in much veneration by the natives, and at the beginning of August a visit is made to it, and bottles of water are carried away and preserved for sanatory purposes.

NOTE 44—page 18.

See previous Note 25.

NOTE 45—page 18.

The depression of the land below the surface of the sea, and its subsequent re-elevation, will probably account for this phenomenon. In the South of the Isle of Man we find on the sea shore, betwixt high and low water mark, the remains of ancient forests. This is a proof of submergence. At the same time, we have evidence that at another period the sea occupied (relatively with the land) a higher level than it now does, from the circumstance that there are water-worn caves at an elevation of from 12 to 15 feet above the present high water mark.

NOTE 46—page 19.

The famous Earl of Derby dwells upon this fact in his letter to his son, printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*—"When I go," said he, "on the mount you call Barrule, and, but turning round, can see England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, I think shame, so fruitlessly to see so many kingdoms at once, which no place, I think, in any nation that we know under heaven can afford such a prospect of and to have so little profit by them."

NOTE 47—page 19.

The barrows and stone circles in the Isle of Man are very numerous, and their contents point to various periods of inhumation. Some of them contain large stone cists, in which the body appears to have been placed in a sitting or kneeling posture; others contain several smaller cists, in which the ashes have been placed after cremation. Others, again, are occupied with a series of urns, placed, as described by Chaloner, with their mouths downward upon a bed of sand, and filled with calcined bones. See Chaloner's *Description*, page 10. The latest are probably the burying-places of heathen Northmen. See Worsaae's *Danes and Northmen in England*, pages 42-3.

NOTE 48—page 20.

The Tinwall, or Tynwald Hill, called in Manx *Cronk-y-Kcillown* (i.e., the Church of St. John's Hill), is situated almost in the middle of the Isle of Man, on the road from Douglas to Peel, three miles from the latter place. It is a pyramidal mound, said to be composed of earth brought from each of the parishes of the Island. The circumference of it at the base is 240 feet, and it rises by four stages, or circular platforms, each three feet higher than the next lower. The platform at the top is four yards in diameter. The name is derived from the Danish, *Thing-vøllr*—the field of judicial assembly. For an account of the ceremonies of the Tynwald Hill, see my *Story of Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey*, page 7, and most modern histories of the Isle of Man.

NOTE 49—page 20.

Fairy Hill, in the parish of Kirk Christ Rushen, is well worthy the attention of the antiquary. It appears to have been undisturbed hitherto, and if carefully opened under the inspection of proper parties, might afford valuable information as to the primitive inhabitants of the Isle. The date of the death of the Reginald mentioned by our author evidently precludes the idea that his remains lie buried underneath it. In fact, it is distinctly stated in the *Chronicon Manniæ* (page 36) that he was buried in St. Mary's Church, Rushen. The barrow had then long given way to the ordinary mode of Christian burial. The magnificent Runic monument (the largest in the Island) which stands not far from the spot, would have been a far more probable record of the event. But I believe that even that is of a date 200 years earlier than Reginald. Reginald was the second son of Olave II. He succeeded (May 5th, 1248) his elder brother, Harald, who was drowned in returning from Norway in the same year. Reginald was murdered on the 30th of May, 1248, in a meadow at the west end of Trinity Church, Rushen. The murderers of Reginald are stated in the above chronicle to have been "the Knight Ivar and a party of assassins." This Ivar was an illegitimate son of Godred II., and brother to Reginald the usurper, and therefore uncle (illegitimate) of this Reginald whom he murdered. His chief accomplice in the deed was Harald, son of Godred Don, and grandson to the usurper Reginald, as appears by the following document, preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. page 586:—

"Anno 1255 Hen. 3. Pro Magno, Rege Manniæ, cingulo militiæ decorato.

Magnus, Rex Manniæ, quem Rex Angliæ nuper in festo paschali cingulo militiæ decoravit habet litteras Regis de protectione simplicis duraturas quamdiu Regi fidelis extiterit. Et mandatum est omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus Regis ad quos, &c., quod Haraldum filium Gothfredi, et Juar" (Ivar) "et accomplices eorum qui Reginaldum quondam Regem Manniæ fratrem prædicti Regis nequitur interfecerunt non permittant in partibus suis ab aliquibus receptari.—In cujus, &c., teste Rege apud Westm., 21 die Aprilis."

The following is a translation of the above interesting document :—"1255, 40th Henry III. For Magnus, King of Man, decorated with a military belt" (admitted to the order of Knighthood). "Magnus, King of Man, whom the King of England lately invested (at Easter) with a military belt, has simple letters of protection from the King, to continue in force as long as he shall continue faithful to the King. And it is enjoined on all bailiffs and faithful subjects of the King, to whom these presents shall come, that they do not permit Harald, the son of Godred, and Ivar, and their accomplices, who wickedly slew Reginald, formerly King of Man, and brother of the aforesaid King, to be received by any persons in their parts.—In witness whereof, the King at Westminster, the 21st day of April."

This Harald, son of Godred Don, seized the kingdom in 1250, but was cast into prison by Haco, King of Norway. Ivar seems to have formed a connection with the widow of Magnus, the younger brother of the Reginald whom he had murdered, and took up arms in her behalf against the Scots, who invaded the Isle in 1270, under the command of John Comyn and Alexander Stewart of Paisley. Ivar fell in battle against them, on the field of Ronaldsway, with 537 of the flower of the people.

NOTE 50—page 23.

In this respect they may truly be said to have been succeeded in office by the two Deemsters, or Judges of the Isle of Man (officers existing at the present day), respecting whom the earliest records make mention, and who, up to the time of Sir John Stanley, appear to have kept the laws of the Island locked up in their own breasts, hence the term "breast law." After Sir John Stanley's time the laws were reduced to writing, but the Deemsters have ever been considered the true exponents of them.

NOTE 51—page 24.

Hector Boetius makes a statement, followed by Bishop Spotiswood and others, that "Cratiliath, the Scottish King, A.D. 277, was very earnest in the overthrow of Druidism in the Isle of Man and elsewhere, and upon the occasion of Diolesian's persecutiou, when many Christians fled to him for refuge, he gave them the Isle of Man for their residence, and erected there for them a stately temple, called Sodorense Fanum, and wherein Amphibalus, a Briton, sat first Bishop." Both this story and that concerning Mordaius, a King of Man, said to have been converted to Christianity, appear to have been mere legends, as stated by our author, and fully discussed in the MS. from which he borrows. See Note 87 *infra*.

NOTE 52—page 24.

The legend of Mannanan Mac-y-Lheir is very fully given in an old Maux ballad of the beginning of the sixteenth century. He is there said to have been a great magician, who, by covering the Isle with mists, prevented the access of foreigners. By his arts he could make one man on a hill appear as if he were a hundred. See Train's *History*, vol. i. page 50. The Druids called the god of the sea Mannanan: may not this circumstance, in connection with the prevalence of Druidism in the Isle of Man, account for the above legend?

NOTE 53—page 25.

The story of St. Maughold, Machaldus, Macfield, Magharde, Machilla, or Machutus, as he is variously styled, originally the captain of a band of Irish kerns or freebooters, but converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, is well known. The headland near Ramsey, upon which he is said to have been cast ashore in a coracle, or wicker boat covered with hides, still bears his name.

NOTE 54—page 26.

The *Annals of Ulster* state that A.D. 503 there was war in Man, under the conduct of Aodan, or Aydun. We read in *Annales Cambriae*—"Cxl. Annus. Bellum contra Euboniam, et dispoetio Danielis Baneorum." Again in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 581, we read "War in Man by Aodan M'Gabhra, when he was victorious." It is also mentioned by Rowland, in his *Monastic Antiquities*, that Maelgwyn, nephew to Arthur, conquered the Island from the Scots, and, as an acknowledgment of his valour, was admitted amongst the Knights of the Round Table. This appears the more probable story. A line of Welsh Princes ruled in the Isle of Man from the seventh to the beginning of the tenth century, when the Northmen over-ran the Western Isles and Man.

NOTE 55—page 27.

The Manx still term the "milky way" *Yn rhaid Ree Gorree* (the road of King Orry), according to the legend that when Orry landed at the Lhane in the North of the Island, with a fleet of strong ships, when he was asked whence he came, he pointed to the direction of the milky way. Orry (probably Erik) is generally considered a Dane, though most likely of Icelandic origin. He is said to have instituted the *Kiare-as-feed* (the four-and-twenty), or House of Keys, the Lower House of the Insular Legislature, which thus dates back to at least the middle of the tenth century. In the Statute Book, under date 1422, we read—"The Taxiaxi" (or House of Keys, so called either from *teagasage*, elders, or *taicse-aicse*, trespass pledges) "were twenty-four freeholders—to wit, eight in the out-isles, and sixteen in your land of Man; and that was in King Orry's days."

NOTE 56—page 29.

The seal to which he refers as formerly in the custody of Mr. Camden, is not improbably one of the two which still exist attached to charters of Harald, King of Man, A.D. 1245 and 1246, amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (drawings of which are in the Manx Publication Society's possession). The ships in these two seals are of different forms. That for the year 1246 is adopted on

the covers of the Society's volumes; it closely resembles a modern Manx herring boat. On the obverse of both seals is a lion. The ship with a single mast frequently occurs on the monuments of the Lord of the Isles in Iona, and there is one on the tomb of Lachlan MacFing-oue (Lachlan Mackinnon), date 1489, which very closely corresponds with the description here given by Sacheverell, of "a ship in her ruff sablcs" (as it ought to be printed), *i.e.*, a ship with her sails furled. The present arms of Man (consisting of three bended legs, conjoined at the thighs, and spurred) were introduced by Alexander III., upon the Scottish conquest, in 1270; and we find them on a cross of the fourteenth century, erected at the gates of the churchyard of Kirk Maughold. Macon, or Haeon, son of Harald, King of Dublin, was King of Man in 973. His motto, "Rex Manniæ et Insularum," is placed on the cover of the Society's Books.

NOTE 57—page 29.

Sacheverell (or the author from whom he borrows) is evidently at fault here. The line of succession after Macon was Goddard, brother to Macon, A.D. 986; Reginald, his son, 996, whose nephew, Suibne, came to the throne in 1004, and was succeeded by his son Harald in 1034. After whom came Goddard, son of Sygtrig, King of the Danes 'in Dublin, A.D. 1040, whose son Fingall, coming to the throne in 1076, was slain along with Sygtrig, in 1077, by Goddard Crovan, in a battle at Skyhill, near Ramsey.—See *Chronicon Manniæ* under the above date.

NOTE 58—page 31.

This tenure, by which the Manx held their estates, was known under the name of "the tenure of a straw." This was at length altered, through the exertions of the good Bishop Wilson, by the "Act of Settlement," proclaimed at Tynwald Hill, on 6th June, 1704, which has been termed the Manx "Magna Charta."

NOTE 59—page 33.

Sacheverell is entirely wrong in his dates. Lagman did not come to the throne till 1104, and he died in the Holy Land 1111. Camden has copied from the *Chronicle of Rushen*, which states that Goddard Crovan reigned sixteen years, though they give the date of Goddard Crovan coming to the throne as 1068; but the *Annals of Ulster* state, A.D. 1073—"Sigtryg M'Olave and two O'Brians killed in the Isle of Man;" and A.D. 1095—"Godred Mananach (of Man), King of Gals, died; and A.D. 1102—"Magnus, King of Denmark (Norway), came with a great fleet to the Isle of Man, and made peace for one year with Ireland;" then A.D. 1103—"Mauus (Magnus), King of Denmark (Norway), killed in Ulster, with the loss of most of his men."

The *Antiquitates Hibernicæ* make matters more complicated by stating, Anno 1076, "Godredus Crovan, Rex Dublinii, neonon Manniæ et Hebridum Insularum obiit in Ila Insula, Ptolemei Epidio. Successit ei, in Regimine Manniæ et Hebridum, filius ejus Lagmauus;" and then they put down under date 1095—"Moriertachus O'Brien, Rex Hiberniæ, Dublinium, cum exercitu pervenit ac inde expulit Godfridum Meranach" (Godredum Mannanach) "regulum;" also, "Anno 1103 Magnus Rex Norvegiæ, Manniâ, et Orcadis expugnatis, fœdus temporarium per-

cussit cum Moriartacho O'Brien, Rege Hiberniæ, sed anno sequenti (dum in Ultonia exploratorem egit) ab Ultoniensibus improvise interceptus interiit."

The *Chronicles of Rushen* state that Magnus, King of Norway, Magnus Barföd, or Barefoot (so called from his wearing the Highland dress), reigned in Man six years. As he overran the Isle in 1098, this would give the date 1104, as I have above mentioned, for Lagman's accession to the throne. Perhaps the solution is this :—In A.D. 1093 Magnus Barefoot made his first terrific invasion upon the Western Isles and Man, whence he expelled Goddard Crovan, who died in Isla, in 1095. Magnus Barefoot, on his return to Norway, left, as his viceroy in Man, Outher, against whom the Southern Manx rebelled, and appointed Macmarus in his room. A battle was fought at Stantway, in Jurby, as narrated by our author, and both Macmarus and Outher were slain. At this juncture, A.D. 1098, Magnus Barefoot returned from Norway, and reoccupied the throne of Man for nearly six years, being slain at Moichaba in 1104, and then Lagman succeeded his father, Goddard Crovan, on the throne.

NOTE 60—page 34.

Though it is stated by Sacheverell that Macmarus, mentioned in the foregoing Note, founded the Abbey of Rushen in 1098, its real founder must be looked on as Olave I., third son of Goddard Crovan, who succeeded Lagman in A.D. 1111, and who, according to the *Rushen Chronicle*, gave, in 1134, to "Ivo, or Evan, Abbot of Furness, a portion of his land in Mau towards building an Abbey in a place called Russin." The whole of this passage in Sacheverell would require to be rearranged to make it consistent with historical facts, as shewn in the previous Note.

NOTE 61—page 34.

I am not aware that this old law of the Isle of Man has ever been repealed, yet the distinction in heritage between the females of the North and South of the Island does not appear at the present day to be strictly observed. Though not absolutely repealed, it is virtually so by subsequent Acts of the Legislature.

NOTE 62—page 36.

For the accession of Olave, and the correct arrangement of the chronology, see Notes 59 and 60 above.

NOTE 63—page 36.

The Abbey third, valued at rather more than £1,000 per annum, is now in the possession of the British Government and private parties, who purchased the impropriations from the Duke of Atholl. The share now enjoyed by the British Government, and paid to the Consolidated Fund, amounts to £525 per annum. Have the poor of the Isle of Man and the parochial schools no claim upon this fund?

NOTE 64—page 37.

The daughter (illegitimate) of Olave the First married to Somerled, Prince of Argyle, was Ayla; their posterity contested the Kingdom of the Isles continually with the legitimate descendants of Olave, and succeeded at one time in obtaining possession. The true date of Goddard the Second's accession is 1154.

NOTE 65—page 41.

See Note 29 ante.

NOTE 66—page 42.

John de Conrey, Earl of Ulster, on account of his extraordinary strength, shewn in cleaving with his sword a helmet faced with mail, in presence of King John, had the privilege granted for himself and heirs of remaining covered before the King. By his wife, Anfrica, he had a son and heir, named Myles.

NOTE 67—page 45.

We may date from the time of Reginald, the usurper, the claim which John and subsequent English monarchs set up to fealty from the Kings of Man. Reginald, knowing that his claim could not be recognised in Norway, threw himself on the protection of the King of England, as stated by Sacherell in the text. It would appear, from the following document in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, of the 6th year of King John, that when this King quarrelled with Reginald, he gave the custody of the Island to one William de Burgo, and it is probable that the De Burgo family claimed a continuous title to the Isle, from the circumstance that Ed. I., in 1290, when taking possession of it at the request of the inhabitants, received a surrender of the same from one Richard de Burgo.

Pat. de anno sexto Regis Johannis :—" Rex reddidit Will. Burgo, terram suam de Mannia de fortaliciis ac totam terram suam in desmon et wardam suam quam habet extra Dublinium, excepto Connoet," &c. I do not feel sure that the word "Mannia" in the above stands for "Mannia," Man, but it looks like it. In the same Patent Rolls, Anno tertio Regis Henrici Tertii, *i.e.* A.D. 1219, we meet with "Salvus conductus pro Reginaldo, Rege Mannie;" again, in the 14th year of Henry III., A.D. 1230, we have—"Protectio pro Rege Mannie, qui Regi fecit homagium." No doubt this was at the time when Olave, having conquered his illegitimate brother Reginald, was desirous of securing the favour of the King of England; and hence it was that when Olave was about to visit the Court of Norway, he sought a safe conduct in his journey from Hen. III., as we read in Rymer, vol. i. page 363 :—" 1236. De protectione pro Olavo, Rege Mannie, ad partes Norwegie profecturo. Rex omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis presentes litteras inspecturis, salutem. Sciatis nos suscepisse in protectionem et defensionem nostram, homines, terras, res redditus et omnes possessiones dilecti fidelis nostri Olavi, Regis Mannie et Insularum, qui pro negotiis suis ad partes Norwegie de mandato Regis Norwegie profecturus est. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod homines, terras, res, redditus, et omnes possessiones ipsius Regis Mannie et Insularum, manu teneatis protegatis et defendatis nullum ei inde inferentes," &c., &c. "Et si quid ei inde fuerit foris factum," &c.—"Teste Rege apud Merewell, vicessimo quarto die Maii." The following is a translation of the above :—" 1236. Concerning a protection for Olave, King of Man, proceeding to Norway. The King to all his Bailiffs and faithful subjects who shall see these present letters, greeting. Know ye that we have taken under our protection and defence the men, lands, revenues, and all the possessions of our be-

loved Olave, King of Man and the Isles, who is about to journey to Norway on his own affairs by order of the King of Norway. And on that account we enjoin you that you regard, protect, and defend the men, lands, revenues, and all the possessions of the said King of Man and the Isles, allowing no damage to him thereupon," &c. "And if any damage shall happen to him, then recompenso shall be made.—Witness the King at Merewell, the 24th day of May."

In the subsequent year, 1237, Anno 21 Regis Hen. III., in the Patent Rolls, we have another "*Protectio pro Olavo, Rege Manniæ.*"

Again, under date 1246, in Rymer we meet with a safe conduct from Hen. III. for Harald, King of Man:—"Haraldus, Rex Manniæ, habet litteras de conductu in veniendo ad Regem in Angliam, ibidem morando, et inde redeundo, et durent litteræ ad Pentecostem, anno, &c., tricesimo.—Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, nono die Januarii." Translation:—"1246. A safe conduct for Harald, King of Man. Harald, King of Man, has letters of safe conduct in coming into England to the King, and there abiding, and thence returning. The said letters shall last until Pentecost, in the thirtieth year of our reign.—Given by the King, at Westminster, on the ninth of January." To his successor, Reginald, in 1249, Anno 34 Hen. III., December 28th, the King grants in like manner a safe conduct to come into England. See Rymer, vol. i. page 451:—"Anno 34 Hen. III., 1249. For the King of Man. The King to all to whom these presents may come, greeting. Know ye that we have granted permission to our beloved and faithful cousin Reginald, the illustrious King of Man, to come and confer with us in England, and to transact with us what he ought. And we therefore command you that to the said King coming to us into England, staying there, or returning, you should do, or permit to be done, no loss, injury, molestation, or damage, or even to his attendants whom he may bring with him. And if any injury shall be done them, without delay that recompense shall be made. In witness whereof we subscribe these letters, to continue in force to Michaelmas, in the 34th year of our reign.—Witness the King at Westminster, the 28th day of Dec." And in the 37th year of Hen. III., A.D. 1253, in the Patent Rolls we meet with—"Salvus conductus pro Magno, hærede Manniæ. Magnus, hæres Manniæ et Insularum, cum familia sua, habet litteras Regis de conductu in eundo per potestatem Regis versus partes Norwegiæ et inde redeundo," &c. "Teste Rege apud Merton, 30 die Aprilis." See also Rymer, vol. i. page 489; and for the last protection to this Magnus, in 1255, see above Note 49. This Magnus, youngest son of Olave II., was the last male of the legitimate race of Goddard Crovan, and last of the Norwegian Kings of Man.

NOTE 68—page 49.

See last Note, "*De protectione pro Olavo, Rege Manniæ.*"

NOTE 69—page 49.

It seems not unlikely that the beautiful Runic monument on the wall of the churchyard of Kirk Michael, containing the figure of a harper, and inscribed with later Manx Runes, and only Gaelic names, may have something to do with these

wo sons of Nell, or Niel, Dufgall and Malmor, who fell in the quarrel at Tynwald Hill; at any rate, it is singular that the three names, Niel, Dufgall, and Malmor, do occur on this monument, and not on any other in the Isle of Man, as far as I am aware. The inscription on this monument (somewhat imperfect, and in parts almost illegible) I have given in my *Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*, page 34, as—"Nial : Lumkun : Raisti : Crus : Thana : Eftir : Mal : Muru : Frustra Sina : Dotir : Dufgals : Kona : Os : Athisi : Ati"—*i.e.*, "Niel Lumkun raised this cross to Malmor, his foster-mother, daughter of Dufgall, the Keen, whom Athisi had" (to wife). Professor Münch has read the first word "Mal," instead of "Nial," "Lufkals" for "Dufgals," and for "Fustra Sina" gives "Fustra sin ok," translating (though with some doubts)—"Mal Lumkun and the daughter of Lufkal, the Keen, whom Athisi had" (to wife), "raised this cross after Malmor, his foster-father." Possibly the reading may be—"Nial : Lumkun : raisti : erus : thana : eftir : Mal : Muru : fustra : son : ok : dotir : Dufgals : Kona : os : Athisi : ati :." and translated—"Niel Lumkun and the daughter of Dufgall, the Keen, whom Athisi had to wife, erected this cross to Malmor, his step-son." If this have reference to the Malmor who fell in the quarrel at the Tynwald Hill, along with Dufgall, we can understand why the daughter of Dufgall should join with Niel in erecting the monument to him. The term *fustra*, occurring on Manx Runic monuments seems applicable to various connections.

NOTE 70—page 51.

See ante Note 49.

NOTE 71—page 52.

See ante Note 67.

NOTE 72—page 52.

See Rymer, vol. i. page 586, and Note 49 supra.

NOTE 73—page 55.

The Norwegians had thus held possession of the Isle of Man for rather more than three hundred years. They have left there more lasting tokens of their presence than in perhaps any other part of the British Isles. Many of their laws and institutions abide still, as remarkably instanced in the ceremonies of the Tynwald Hill, and in the legislative body, the House of Keys. We have Castle Rushen still looking almost as fresh as in the day of its foundation; and the only ruins and monuments of any great note—as Rushen Abbey, Peel Castle, the Nunnery, St. Trinian's, the Runic crosses—were reared in their day, and still testify to their ancient sway. Unlike the Normans in England, however, they do not seem to have given any portion of their language to the people though they have left it in the nomenclature of very many places overspreading the more ancient British names.

NOTE 74—page 57.

In Rymer, vol. ii. page 492, we meet with the following interesting document :—"Littera hominum Insula de Man, qui se ponunt in protectionem Regis, Anno

18 Ed. I., 1290. Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis præsentis literas visuris vel audituris, omnes homines Insulam de Man inhabitantes, salutem. Cum magnificus Princeps Dominus Rex Angliæ illustris, Insulam prædictam in manus suas suscepit ad protegendum et defendendum, quæ nuper extitit desolata et multis miseriis occupata, defectu protectionis et defensionis, et nos subjectioni et dominationi suæ (ejus?) volumus subjici, et præceptis suis (ejus?) obedire, et sibi (illi?) tanquam domino nostro in omnibus respondere; de cætero promittimus sub pœna duarum millium librarum argenti. Si contingat nos, aliquo modo, contra dominum suum (nostrum?) intersurgere seu delinquere, vel aliquem de suis (illius?) foris facere ac gravare malitiose; quas plenarie salveri promittimus et protestamur absolute. Et super præmissis observandis obligari volumus et concedimus omnes possessiones nostras ubicunque inventæ fuerint, insimul cum corporibus nostris quibuscumque pœnis prout sibi placuerit, capiendas et cohercendas, omnibus juris remediis secularibus, et gentium consuetudinibus post positis et nobis minime valeturis. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum nostrum commune apposuimus.—Dat. apud Abbatiam de Russyn, in Insulâ prædictâ, A.D. 1290." The following is a translation of the above:—"A letter of the men of the Isle of Man, who place themselves under the protection of the King, in the 18th year of Edward I., 1290. To all the sons of Holy Mother Church who shall see or hear these present letters, all the men inhabiting the Isle of Man send greeting. Whereas the Most Noble Prince the illustrious Lord King of England has taken into his own hands, for protection and defence, the aforesaid Island, which has lately been left desolate and oppressed with many miseries, from lack of defence and protection. And whereas we desire to place ourselves under his rule and government, and to obey his injunctions, and to answer in all things to him as our Lord. We henceforth engage ourselves under a penalty of two thousand pounds of silver which, if it shall happen that we in any manner rebel against his rule, or become delinquents, or injure or maliciously afflict any of his subjects, we promise and absolutely protest we will fully pay. And to the observance of the aforesaid premises we wish to bind ourselves, and grant all our possessions, wherever they may be found, together with our bodies, in such penalties as he may please, to be taken and held, all secular remedies of law and the rights of nations being set aside and by no means availing us. In testimony whereof we have affixed to these presents our common seal.—Given at the Abbey of Rushen, in the aforesaid Island, in the year 1290."

On this instrument no doubt the Sovereigns of England grounded their claims to the Isle of Man, and the power of making grants of it to whomsoever they pleased, and hereby the Manx people cancelled all previous engagements betwixt themselves and their Norwegian rulers as respects the terms of tenure of their lands and secular privileges whatever, under the penalty of two thousand pounds of silver, on breach of contract. It would be worth while ascertaining what sum the Earl of Wiltshire (Scrope)

paid the Earl of Salisbury (Montacute) for all these privileges; as yet we only know that it was a "*large sum of money*." It is deserving of notice, that no rights of Holy Mother Church were herein made over to the Kings of England, though they afterwards presumed to give or sell the patronage of the Bishopric, &c., and Henry VIII. and Elizabeth seized on the lands and revenues of Rushen Abbey. Are we to assume from the above that the House of Keys had a common seal, or was it the seal of the Abbey of Rushen which was affixed to this document? The seal itself is said to be in existence.

In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, Anno 20 Regis Edwardi Primi, 15th July, 1292, we have a document, "*De querelis hominum Insulæ Man*" (the House of Keys?) "*audiendis et terminandis*," a translation of which I have printed in my *Story of Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey*, p. 6. In this document the King appoints his "beloved and faithful Nicholas of Salgrave Senior, Osbert Spaldington, and John of Southwell, his justices of the peace to hear and determine the complaints all and singular of the persons of the Isle of Man." The following is the translation referred to:—"For hearing and determining the complaints of the men in the Isle of Man (*Kiarc-as-feed*). The King to his beloved and faithful Nicholas of Salgrave Senior, Osbert Spaldington, and John of Southwell, sendeth greeting, Know ye that we have assigned you our justices to hear and determine the complaints all and singular of the persons of the Isle of Mann, complaining of whatsoever trespasses and wrongs are to them done, as well by any of our bailiffs and ministers as others in the Island, and to do full and speedy justice to the parties thereof, according to the law and custom of that place. And therefore we command you that on certain days and places, within the said Isle of Man, you hear and determine the said complaints in form aforesaid, saving, &c.; and we likewise command our Keeper of the said Island that on certain days, &c., in the said Island, he cause to come before you so many and such.—In testimony, &c. The King at Berwick, the 15th day of July, 1292."

NOTE 75—page 57.

See ante Note 67, and infra Note 76.

NOTE 76—page 57.

See Rotuli Scotiæ, Memb. 5, Nov. Castr., Jan. 5, Anno 1292:—"De Insula Man restituendi Johanni, Regi Scotiæ. Rex et Superior Dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto et fideli suo Waltero de Huntercombe, custodiam terræ de Man, saltem. Quia de gratiâ nostra speciali reddidimus dilecto et fideli nostro Johanni de Balliolo, Regi Scotiæ, talem seisinam terræ de Man, cum pertinentibus qualem Alexander, ultimus Rex Scotiæ antecessor noster (ejus?) cujus hæres ipse est habuit de eadem terrâ die quo obiit, salvo jure nostro et alterius cujuscunque, et salvis nobis et heredibus nostris exitibus wardis maritagii releviis esecatis finibus amerciameris arreragiis firmarum et reddituum quæ tempore seisinæ nostræ ejusdem terræ acciderunt. Et salvis nobis et heredibus nostris cognitoribus, placetoribus, et attactoribus, quibuscunque de ballivis et ministris nostris ibidem de tempore prædicto una cum cognitione transgressionis impositæ Duncano de Maleoly, et judi-

ciorum super eisdem reddendorum executoribus et similiter quod omnia judicia seisinæ nostræ tempore per ballivos et ministros nostros in eadem terra reddita teneantur executentur, demandentur. Vobis mandamus qua tenus præfato Regi seisinam terræ prædictæ cum suis pertinentibus in formâ prædictâ liberam faciatis salvo jure nostro et alterius cujuscumque.—Teste Rege apud Nov. Cast-super-Tyncham, quinto die Januarii.” Translated thus:—“Concerning the restoring the Isle of Man to John, King of Scotland. The King and Lord Superior of the Kingdom of Scotland, to his beloved and faithful Walter Huntercombe, Governor of Man, greeting. Whereas, of our special grace, we have restored to our beloved and faithful John Balliol, King of Scotland, such seizure of the Isle of Man, with its appurtenances, as Alexander, the last King of Scotland, his predecessor, and whose heir he himself is, had of that Island on the day he died; saving our rights, and those of any other, and saving to us and our heirs the revenues, wards, heritages, reliefs, escheats, fines, amercements, arrears of farms and rents which were due at the time when we had seizure of the same land; and saving to us and our heirs any recognitions, decrees, and attachments of our bailiffs and magistrates at the time aforesaid; together with cognizance of the charge laid against Duncan Malcolm, and of the judgments delivered upon the same; and in like manner that all the judgments delivered in the aforesaid time of our seizure, by our bailiffs and magistrates, in the same land, be held executed and demanded. We enjoin you more especially that you cause to be made over to the said King seizure of the aforesaid land, with its appurtenances, in form aforesaid, saving our rights and those of any other.—Witness the King at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the 5th day of January.”

NOTE 77—page 57.

I have stated in my story of *Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey*, page 20, that the “history of the Isle of Man immediately subsequent to the Scottish conquest, and for the next fifty years is somewhat complicated,” and I have endeavoured to arrange it in the Catalogue of the Kings of Man given in the Appendix to that book. But I have been led to the conviction, from documents which have since fallen in my way, that I have erred in one or two points from following too closely the statements of Sacheverell, Chaloner, and Camden, in reference to this period. In order to point out the inaccuracies, it may be well here to compare the statements of Camden and Chaloner with the text of Sacheverell. I will first quote Camden, from the English version of 1673 folio-page 213, where we read—

“When Alexander the Third, King of Scots, had gotten into his hands the Western Islands, partly by way of conquest and in part for ready money, paid unto the King of Norway, hee attempted the Isle of Man also, as one of that number, and through the valiant prowess of Alexander Stewart, brought it under his dominion; yea, and placed there a petty King or Prince, with this condition, that hee should be ready alwaies at his command to serve with ten ships in his warres at sea. Howbeit, Mary, the daughter of Reginald, King of Man, (who was become Liege Man of John, King of England)

entered her suit for the Island before the King of England; but answer was made unto her that she should demand it of the King of Scots, for that he then held it in possession. And yet her grandchild, John Waldebeofe (for the said Mary married into the house of Waldebeofe) sued for his ancient rights in Parliament, holden in the 33 yeere of King Edward the First, before the King of England, as the superiour Lord of the Kingdome of Scotland. But none other answer could he have than this (if I may speake the words out of the very authenticate Records) '*Sequatur coram Justiciariis de Banco Regis,*' &c., that is, let him sue before the Justices of the K. Bench; let him be heard, and let justice be done. But that which he could not obtaine by right Sir William Montacute, his kinsman (for come he was of the race of the Kings of Man) wonne by his sword. For with a band of English mustered up in hast he drove all the Scots out of the Iland. But being by this warre plunged deeply in debt, and not having to make some paiment thereof, he mortgaged it for seven years, to Antonie Bec, Bishop of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, and made over the profits and revenues thereof unto him: yea, and soon after the King granted it unto the said Antonie for tearme of life. Afterwards King Edward the Second passed a grant thereof unto his minion, Piers Gaveston, what time as he created him Earle of Cornwall; and when the said Piers was rid out of the way, hee gavo it unto Henry Beaumont, with all the demaine and regall jurisdiction thereto belonging. But shortly after the Scots under Robert Brus recovered it. . . . Afterward, about the yeere of our Lord 1340, William Montacute, the younger, Earle of Salisbury, wrested it by strong hand and force of armes from the Scottish; who, in the yeere of our Lord 1393, as Thomas Walsingham saith, sold for a great summe of money Man, with the Crowne thereof unto Wm. Serope." Camden makes an error in saying that the same Montacute who conquered the Isle from the Scots in 1340, sold it to Sir William Serope.

After Camden, comes James Chaloner. In his *Short Treatise of the Isle of Man*, printed by John Streater, 1656, and appended to King's *Vale Royal of Cheshire*, page 15, he says:—"William Montacute, Knight, deriving an interest in blood from the said Mary (de Waldebeof) took this Isle by force of armes from the Scots; but by reason of the great charge he was at in subduing it, he was constrained to mortgage it to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, and Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the space of seven years. Then William Montacute, the younger, possessed the same."

Now, though it is possible to make these two authors agree in the main with the facts of history; yet, when we come to Sacheverell, and take the interpretation he has given of them, fixing the dates of the events more particularly, and, above all, adding, as he has done, from what he calls *Manx Tradition*, the marriage of the Sir William Montacute, who conquered the Isle from the Scots, and was crowned King in 1344, to Mary, daughter of John Waldebeof, and great-granddaughter of Mary, the last of the family of Goddard Crovan, we begin to find ourselves in difficulty, especially as he further tells us that it was this Sir

William Montacute who mortgaged the Island for seven years to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, whose character and conduct he then proceeds to detail.

The remarkable anachronism which we here note is, that Anthony Beck had been dead some thirty-three years before the conquest of the Isle of Man from the Scots by Sir William Montacute, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, in 1340. With regard to this point, the following quotations from amongst many others may suffice. Peter Heylin, in his *Catalogue of all the Bishops which have governed in the Church of England and Wales since the Conversion of the Saxons, together with the Honorary Offices which they or any of them enjoyed in the Civil Government* (London, 1709), gives, under the head of Bishops of Durham, page 76, the following item :—"Anno 1283, Bishop 42nd, Anthony de Beck, Archdeacon of Durham, Patriarch of Jerusalem; succeeded Anno 1311 by Richard Kellowe." Again, in Willis's *History of Cathedrals*, vol. i. page 258, under the head of Archdeacons of Durham, we have—"Anno 1274, Anthony Bek held it. He was made Bishop Anno 1283;" and at page 239 we read—"Anthony de Bek, or Beak, Archdeacon of Durham, succeeded (Robert de Insula) being elected July 5, 1283, and consecrated Jan. 9 following. He was a man of vast power and wealth, and by that means obtained of the Pope the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and of the King the Principality of Man. He died March 3, 1310" (Godwin says March 28, 1311), "and was buried in the Cathedral, behind the altar, being the very first Bishop that presumed to lie in the church, on account of the interment of the holy St. Cuthbert." In Beatson's *Political Index* (Edinburgh, 1786), page 164, we have the entry—"Anno 1283. 42nd Bishop, Anthony de Beck, Archdeacon of Durham, Patriarch of Jerusalem. He had also from the King the Principality of Man. Anno 1311: 43, Richard de Kellaw." Again, Bishop Godwin (Richardson's *Edition de Præsulibus*, page 743) says of Anthony Beck—"This turbulent prelate obtained from the King, either by prayers or price, the Principality of the Isle of Man, and held it for life."

In Surtees' *History of Durham* we have a large account of Anthony de Beck, who is stated to have been titular King of Man for five years, having got his title from Ed. II., to compensate him for two large estates, which Ed. I. had wrested from him, and given to two principal families, from whom Edward II. could not recover them.

Further, we have in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 2, p. 1058, 35 Ed. I., a "scire facias to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, to shew cause why he should not render the Isle of Man." The following is the *scire facias* issued to Anthony Beck, in the 35th year of Ed. I., if the date given in Rymer be correct. Rymer, vol. ii. page 1058, Anno 1307, Ed. I. :—"Super Insula de Man in manum Regis resmenda. Rex Vice-Comiti Northumbriæ, salutem. Quia per inspectionem Rotulorum et aliorum memorandorum quæ coram consilio nostro scrutari et diligenter examinari fecimus, nobis constat, quod plures de antecessoribus nostris, quondam Reges Angliæ, de terra de Man seisiti fuerunt, ut de jure suo, et quod nos similiter seisiti fuimus de eadem (exitus et proficiencia inde percipiendo) quousque nos de gratia

uostra speciali seisinam terre illius talem, videlicet, qualem Alexander, quondam Rex Scotiæ, habuit de eadem, Johanni de Balliolo, nuper Regi Scotiæ (salvo semper jure nostro et bæredum nostrorum), fecimus liberari. Tibi præcipimus quod *scire facias* venerabili Patri Antonio, Dunelmensi Episcopo (qui prædictam terram modo tenet ut dicitur) per duos liberos et legales homines de balliva tua, quod sit coram nobis a die Sancti Michaelis, in 15 dies ubicumque, &c. Ostensurus si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat, quare terram illam in manum nostram ut jus nostrum, resumere minime debeamus. Et habeas ibi nomina illorum per quos præfato Episcopo scire feceris, et hoc brevo.—Teste Rege apud Caldecotis, 28 die Junii. Per Consilium.”

Translation of the above *scire facias* to Anthony Beck, concerning the Isle of Man, to be rendered into the hands of the King :—“To the Vice-Count of Northumberland, greeting. Whereas, by the inspection of the Rolls and other memoranda, which we have caused to be investigated and diligently examined in presence of our Council, it appears to us, that many of our predecessors, formerly Kings of England, were seized of the Isle of Man as of their own right, and as we, in like manner, were seized of the same, for the receiving thence the revenues and profits, until we of our special grace did grant such seizuro to be rendered of that land—to wit, such as Alexander, formerly King of Scotland, had of the same, to John Balliol, late King of Scotland (saving always our rights and the rights of our heirs). We direct you to call upon the Venerable Father Anthony, Bishop of Durham, who now, as it is said, holds possession of the aforesaid land, by two legal gentlemen of your district, to show cause why he should not appear before us, within fifteen days from Michaelmas, wherever we may be, in order to show what reason he has, or what he is able to say, why we ought not, by all means, to resume that land into our own hand and right. And you are to have there the names of those by whom you shall call upon the said Bishop to show cause, and that speedily.—Witness the King at Caldecot, 28th day of June. In Council.”

I feel some little doubt as to the correctness of the dates of the above. In a note in Train's *History of the Isle of Man*, vol. i. page 145, mention is made of the above *scire facias*, as extant in the Rotuli Scotiæ, under the date of 31 Edward I. But it will be observed that our author refers to a “memorable extract in Mr. Prinn,” stating that in the 35th year of Ed. I. (1307) the King seized the Island for his own use, and this agrees with the date in Rymer.

With regard to the last two authorities, Godwin and Surtees, I would observe that, as Edward II. did not come to the throne till 1307, if Anthony Beck held the Island by grant from that King, since he died in 1310, or 1311 at the latest, he could not have held it, as Surtees states, for five years; also, if he obtained a grant from Edward II., he must have previously been in possession of the Island in some way in the 35th year of Edward I.—i.e., in 1307, as I have before said. It is, at any rate, plain, from the date of the death of Anthony Beck, that the Sir William de Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, after he had conquered the Island from the Scots, and had been crowned King in 1343, could not, according

to Sacheverell's statement, have made a mortgage of it to that prelate, who had then been dead thirty-two years at least.

With respect to the statement of Sacheverell—that Edward III. not only gave Mary Waldebeof his protection, but married her to Sir William Montacute—it is to be noticed that Camden makes no mention of the marriage of Mary with Sir William, but simply says that he (Sir William Montacute) “was come of the race of the Kings of Man,” which might be by descent from Aufrica de Connaught, daughter of Goddard II.; though he also says that he mortgaged the Island to Anthony Beck, and that his son, Sir Wm. Montacute, the younger Earl of Salisbury, about 1340, wrested it from the Scots, and in 1392 sold it to Sir William Scrope. Chaloner, also, makes no direct mention of the marriage of Mary de Waldebeof into the Montacute family, but leads us almost to infer it, when he says that Sir William Montacute, deriving an interest in blood from the said Mary, took the Island from the Scots, and mortgaged it to Anthouy Beck and that then Sir William Montacute, son of the aforesaid William, and Earl of Salisbury, possessed the same. He afterward says that, in 1393, by purchase, it came into the hands of Sir William Scrope, without mentioning the name of the person from whom it was purchased, though the inference seems to be that it was from that Sir William whose father, having wrested it from the Scots, mortgaged it to the Patriarch of Jerusalem.

I believe that this confusion arises from all these authors being either unaware of, or passing over in silence, a fact which has only recently come to my knowledge—viz., that there were *three* Sir William Montacutes, the *second* of whom was the *first* Earl of Salisbury. Burke, in his *Extinct Peerages*, says that Sir Simon Montacute married Aufrica de Connaught, and died in 1316, after being crowned King of Man (of which we have no evidence), and that his son, Sir William, second Earl of Salisbury, sold the crown to Sir William Scrope, and died in 1397; all which is incorrect. But Burke makes no mention of Mary Waldebeof, though giving other names for the wives of these members of the Montacute family.

Again, in Milles' *Catalogue of Honor*, page 1041, we read—“William de Montacute, a Great Baron, and Lord of the Isle of Man, was created Earl of Salisbury, by King Edward the Fourth” (Third?) “in the 11th year of his reign, 18th of March, 1337. . . . Katherine, eldest daughter and at length coheir of William Graison, a Burgundian, was wife of Wm. Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, and died in 1348. . . . His father, William Montacute, was son of Sir Simon Lord Montacute, who being descended of Drogo” (branched out of the line of the Kings of Man), “did marry Aufric, Queen of Man, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, and widow of Olavus, King of Man” (in reality, daughter of Olave the Second, and sister of Magnus.—EDITOR). “Whereupon the Royalty of that Island devolved to this William Montacute, Earle of Salisbury, who, recovering it from the Scots, received the seigniorie of that Island, with the crown, from the same King, and was stiled by the people, with the approbation of Edward the Third, King of Man.”

Again, Milles says, in his *Catalogue of Honor*—"William Montacute, or Montague (eldest son and heir of William), 1343, was the second Earl of this house, Lord of the Isle of Man, and one of the Knights of the first foundation of the Order of the Garter. . . . This William did sell the Isle of Man to William de Serope, Vice-Chamberlain to Richard the Second, the Lord of which Island in ancient times was called King of Man, and was crowned with a golden crown. . . . Elizabeth" (one of the daughters and coheirs of John Lord Mohun, of Dunster Castle) "was wife of William Montague, second Earl of Salisbury. . . . He" (Sir William Montacute) "died without issue, the 20th of Richard the Second, 1396, leaving John" (son to his brother, Sir John Montagu) "to be his heir and successor in the kingdom."

If we are to admit the statements of Sacheverell respecting the marriage of Mary de Waldebeof into the Montacute family, and that of Camden, Chaloner, and Sacheverell as to the mortgage of the Island to Anthony Beck, in order to reconcile them with what we find in these other authors, I think we must have recourse to some such explanation as the following—viz., by supposing that the first Sir William Montacute, not Earl of Salisbury, conquered the Isle from the Scots at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and mortgaged it to Anthony Beck, who being compelled to surrender it by Edward I., received afterwards a grant of it for life from Edward II., and died in possession. Of the actual date of the marriage of Mary into the Montacute family (if it really did take place) we at present have no evidence; and there is the insuperable difficulty in the way of her marriage with the first Sir William, in that her great-grandmother, Mary, daughter of Reginald, could not have been married to Sir Simon de Waldebeof much before 1270, for in all accounts she is stated to have been carried away as a child from the Isle of Man, with all the insular records, after the death of her uncle, Magnus, in 1265, and then married to the Earl of Strathern, before she married Sir Simon de Waldebeof. Train says, that in a MS., preserved in Castle Rushen, but which I could never see or hear of there, she is styled Countess of Strathern and Queen of Man. I would observe, however, that the name of a "Maria nobilis mulier regina de Man, comitissa de Stratherne," appears in a deed signed at Perth, in 1292, in the house of the Predicant Friars. She is stated in the Ragman Roll to have been the daughter of Alexander de Ergadia, Lord of Lorn, and widow of Reginald, King of Man. She was second wife of Malise, Earl of Strathern, and in 1320 she entered into a conspiracy against Robert Bruce for which she was attainted. Through her we can trace the interest in the Isle of Man which seems to have been claimed by the families of Ergadia, Comyn, and Beaumont. For Alexander de Ergadia, Lord of Lorn, married a daughter of John, called the Red Comyn, who was slain by Bruce in the Dominican Church of Dumfries, and Henry de Beaumont, Lord of Man, married the daughter and coheir of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan.

It is just possible that a Mary de Waldebeof, daughter of John Waldebeof, may have been one of the wives of the second Sir William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, who conquered the Isle from the Scots in 1340.

Another difficulty not to be overlooked is the fixing a date for the conquest of the Isle by the first Sir William Montacute. In order that this may appear, it may be well to make a review of Manx history for the fifty years succeeding the Scottish conquest of the Island, in 1270.

Alexander, King of Scotland, being killed by a fall from his horse in 1285, Edward I. of England, as is well known, took upon himself to decide the title to the Scottish Crown, and gave it in favour of Balliol. He also (Rolt, on *The Sale of the Isle of Man*, London, 1773, pages 25 and 26) claimed the sovereignty of the Isle of Man for himself, and in 1290 he took possession of it, as we have seen above, Note 74, at the request of the inhabitants, receiving a surrender of it from one Richard de Burgo; and by letters patent, 4th June of the same year, he gave the Island to hold to Walter de Huntercombe. We further read—"Rotuli Scotiæ, 1291, Anno 19 Ed. I. Odo, clericus, habet litteras de præsentatione ad Ecclesiam Sancti Santani, in Man, vacantem per mortem Dofnaldi, nuper rectoris ejusdem et ad donationem Regis spectantem, ratione terræ de Man in manu Regis existentis. Et diriguntur litteræ Sodorensi Episcopo. Teste Rege apud Berwick-super-Twede, xvi. die Junii.—Roulandus, capellanus, habet litteras Regis de præsentatione ad Ecclesiam Sancti Patricii de Dureby, vacantem, et ad donationem Regis spectantem ratione terræ de Man in manu Regis existentis. Et diriguntur litteræ Episcopo Sodorensi. Teste (ut supra).—Alanus de Wygeton habet litteras de præsentatione ad Ecclesiam Sancti Carber, in Man, vacantem, et ad donationem Regis spectantem ratione terræ de Man in manu Regis existentis. Et diriguntur litteræ ad Episcopo Sodorensi. Teste Rege (ut supra)." Translation of the foregoing documents:—"Rolls of Scotland, 1291. Odo, clerk, has letters of presentation to the Church of St. Santon, (St. Anne) in Man, vacant by the death of Donald, the late rector thereof, and in the gift of the King, on account of the land of Man being in the King's hand. And letters are directed to the Bishop of Sodor. Witness the King at Berwick-on-Twede, xvi. day of June.—Roland, chaplain, has letters of presentation from the King to the Church of St. Patrick in Jurby, vacant, and in the King's gift, on account of the land of Man being in the King's hand. And letters are directed to the Bishop of Man. Witness the King at Berwick-on-Twede, xvi. day of June.—Alan of Wighton has letters of presentation to the Church of St. Cairbre" (Kirk Arbory), "in Man, vacant, and in the gift of the King, on account of the land of Man being in the King's hand. And letters are directed to the Bishop of Sodor. Witness the King at Berwick-on-Twede, xvi. day of June."

There is no doubt, also, from the extract before referred to, Note 74, from the Patent Rolls, 20th Edward I., that in the year 1292, July 15, he was exercising authority as King at that time in the Isle of Man. In the year 1293 the King frees Duncan M'Toryn of his outlawry in the Isle of Man by the following instrument, he having been informally accused of misconduct and breach of the peace:—"Rotuli Scotiæ, 1293. Utlagaria Donckani Ma'toryn annullatur. Rex et Superior Dominus Regni Scotiæ, omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quas, &c., salutem. Quia inspectis et diligenter examinatis coram nobis et consilio nostro

recordo et processu habitis coram dilecto et fideli nostro Waltero de Huutereombe, nuper ballivo nostro Insulæ prædictæ utlagaria promulgata in Donekanum Mac-toryu, per iudices curiarum tentarum in eadem Insula, per præfatum ballivum nostrum, pro quibusdam transgressionibus per prædictum Donekauum contra pacem nostram factis ut dicebatur et sibi per eundem ballivum nostrum impositis, in eisdem recordo et processu error invenitur manifestus, utlagariam illam de dicto consilio nostro, penitus aduullamus nolentes quod idem Donekanus, occasione utlagariæ prædictæ per quoscunque de cetero occasionetur, gravetur in aliquo, seu molestetur. In ejus rei, &c.—Teste Rege apud Westmon., xxviii. die Junii. Per Regem et Consilium.” Translation :—“Rolls of Scotland, 1293. The outlawry of Dunkan M’Toryn annulled. The King and Lord Superior of the King of Scotland, to all his bailiffs and faithful subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Inasmuch as, in our council, the record and process had in presence of our beloved and faithful Walter Huntercombe, lately our bailiff in the Isle of Man aforesaid, having been examined in respect of the outlawry pronounced against Dunkan M’Toryu, by the Judges of our Courts of trial, in the same island, through the aforesaid our bailiff, because of certain transgressions done by the aforesaid Dunkau against our peace, as it was said. and inflicted on him by the same our bailiff, in the same record and process is discovered a manifest error. We therefore entirely annul that outlawry of our said Council, requiring that the same Dunkan, by occasion of the said outlawry, shall not be injured in any respect, or molested by any persons hereafter.—In testimony whereof, witness the King at Westminster, 28th day of June. By the King in Council.” King Edward I. died in July, 1307. Within the period, however, of the year following Edward II. made a grant of it to Piers Gaveston, as Lieutenant; then to Henry Beaumont, with Gilbert de M’Gaskill as his Lieutenant. In 1307 Sacheverell states that, dispossessing Henry de Beaumont, “Edward II. granted custody of the Island to Gilbert de MacGaskill, who was allowed £1,596 0s. 10d. for his expenses, being £1,215 0s. 4d. for cost of defence against the Scots, and £386 17s. 6d. furnished by him for provision to the Governor of Carlisle.” However (according to the MS. stated by Train to be preserved in Castle Rushen), in 1308 Robert Bruce is said to have recovered the Isle of Man to the Scots, and to have given possession of it to Randolph, Earl of Murray, his nephew; but, if this was the case, that he was soon driven out again, appears by the fact mentioned in the *Chronicon Manniæ*, that in 1313, “Robert Bruce anchored at Ramso, with a numerous fleet, on the 18th of May, and on the Sunday following went to the Monastery of Dubh-Glas, where he spent the night. On the Monday following he laid siege to the Castle of Russin, which Dungawi Macdowal held out against the aforementioned King till Tuesday after the Festival of St. Barnabas, when Robert took the fortress.” We also find (Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iii. pp. 223-238) in 1310 Gilbert de M’Gaskill again mentioned as having custody of Man under Authouy de Beck. It is also said that the Scots planned a winter invasion of the Island. Hence they must have been driven out in 1309. If the above be correct (which I

doubt), it is just possible that the first Sir William Montacute got the Island from the Scotch, after it had been seized by Bruce in 1308; that Bruce, having again gained possession in 1313, it was held by the Scotch till wrested from them by the second Sir William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, about 1340. But the first Sir William Montacute would hardly have found in 1309 a mortgagee in Anthony Beck, who at that time was actually holding a grant of it for life from the King. If, however, we could only obtain evidence that the Scots had actually regained possession of the Isle of Man between the 20th year of Edward I., when he was undoubtedly (as above shewn) holding it, and the 35th of the same King, when we find him issuing a *scire facias* to Anthony Beck, to show cause why he should not render the same; or, if we consider that the Scots, having possession of it in 1392, under Balliol, retained it on his abdication, 1296,—we might perhaps more fully clear up the difficulty, by supposing that the first Sir William Montacute conquered the Island from the Scots at the beginning of the 14th century (say in the year 1301-2), and that he then mortgaged it to the Patriarch of Jerusalem (who was obliged to deliver it up to Edward I., though he afterwards got a grant of it from Edward II.); and the actual marriage of Sir William Montacute with Mary de Waldebeof might have taken place any time before 1320, when the said Sir William Montacute died. Such a supposition would be sufficiently explanatory of the statements of Camden, Chaloner, and Saceverell, and would account for the most of the errors into which they have fallen, and which I had copied from them. If, however, this supposition be proved incorrect, we can still fall back on the right which Sir William Montacute had to the Crown of Man by descent from Aufrica de Connaught, in virtue of which he might have granted a mortgage of the Island to the belligerent Bishop of Durham. We should not overlook the circumstance stated by Camden, that, in the 33rd year of Edward I., John Waldebeof sued for his ancient right in Parliament, and that this might be at the time when Anthony Beck was holding it as mortgagee from Sir William Montacute. In Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. iii. page 238, Gilbert de M'Gaskill, as we have seen, is mentioned as having custody of Man in 1310, and is also stated to have previously held the Island as seneschal for the Bishop of Durham. We have the following document in Chaloner, showing how Henry Beaumont became possessed of the Isle of Man in the time of Ed. II. (Chaloner, page 13):—"Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod pro bono servitio quod dilectus consanguineus et fidelis noster, Henricus de Bello Monte, nobis hactenus impendit, dedimus ei et concessimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, totam terram nostram de Man, habendam et tenendam ei Henrico ad totam vitam suam de nobis et hæredibus nostris, libere, quiete, bene, integre, et in pace; cum omni dominio et justitia regali, una cum feodis militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum et domorum religiosarum, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, escotis, et omnibus aliis ad prædictam terram, spectantibus seu spectare volentibus, quoquo modo per servitia quæ domini terræ prædictæ Regibus Scotiæ inde facere consue-

verunt.—In ejus rei, &c., teste Rege apud Novum-Castrum-super-Tynum, primo die Maii, 1308. Per ipsum Regem." Translation of the above grant to Henry Beaumont :—"The King to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that, for the good service which our beloved and faithful cousin, Henry Beaumont, hath hitherto rendered to us, we have given and granted to the said Henry for the term of his life, for ourselves and our heirs, freely, quietly, well, safely, and in peace, to have and possess all our land of Man, together with the entire lordship and regal justice, as well as with knight's fees, the advowson of churches and religious houses, the liberties, free customs, escheats, and all other things pertaining to the aforesaid land, or seeming to pertain, in whatever manner, by the service which the Lords of the aforesaid land were accustomed thence to render to the Kings of Scotland.—In testimony whereof, witness the King at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the first day of May, 1308. By the King himself."

To make the documents referring to this complex period complete, I give here the mandamus by Ed. I. to Balliol, to appear, with Aufrica de Connaught, in the King's Bench, to answer respecting her claim to the Isle of Man :—"Rotuli Scotiæ, 21 Ed. I., 1293. Rex Scotiæ citatur ad respondendum in curia Regis Angliæ, super appellacione Aufricæ, hæredis Magni, quondam Regis Manniæ. Rex et Superior Dominus Scotiæ dilecto et fideli suo Johanni cadem gratia Regi Scotiæ illustri, salutem. Aufrica, consanguinea et hærede, ut asserit, Magni, quondam Regis Manniæ, acceperunt exponendo quod cum ipsa ad veram præsentiam accessisset asserens terram de Man esso jus et hæreditatem suam, et vos requisivisset instanter et pluries quod ipsam in jure suo curaretis audire et super petitione sua quam faciebat de terra prædictâ sibi facere jus et justitiæ complementum, offerens se paratam docere de prædicto jure suo in forma debita, secundum legem et consuetudinem partium illarum, vos supra dicta sibi facere ut dicitur contra justitiam denegatis; proptereaquo prædicta Aufrica, a juris defectu seu justitiæ denegacione a vobis, ad nos, ut ad Superiorem ipsius Regni Scotiæ Dominum, appellavit petens et supplicans per nos in vestri defuturam sibi justitiam exhiberi secundum quod ratione superioritatis domini, quod in eodem regno habemus, ad nos dinoscitur pertinere. Verum cum justa petentibus non sit denegandus auditus, et in exhibenda justitia simus omnibus debitores, vos adjornamus quod sitis coram nobis a die Sancti Michaeli in xv. dies ubicumque tunc fuerimus in Anglia, responsuri prædictæ Aufricæ, super premissis et facturi et recepturi quod justum fuerit, quem diem eidem Aufricæ assignavimus coram nobis ad faciendum et recipiendum similiter in eisdem quod justitia suadobit.—In ejus, &c., teste Rege apud Westmon., xv. die Junii. Et mandatum est Vicomiti Northumbriensi quod prædictas literas, &c." Translation :—"Rolls of Scotland, 21st Ed. I., 1293. The King of Scotland is cited to appear in the Court of the King of England, on the suit of Aufrica, the heiress of Magnus, formerly King of Man. The King and Lord Superior of Scotland to his beloved and faithful John, by the same grace, the illustrious King of Scotland, greeting. Aufrica, the kinswoman and heiress, as she asserts, of Magnus, formerly King of Man, we have heard, setting forth that

when she had come herself into your presence, asserting that the land of Man is her right and inheritance, and had asked of you instantly and oftentimes that you would take care to listen to her, as respects her right, and upon her petition which she made concerning the aforesaid land, that you would render to her right and full justice, offering to give proof of her aforesaid rights in due form, according to the law and custom of those parts, you unjustly denied to render to her those things aforesaid, contrary to justice. Wherefore the aforesaid Aufrica, through defect of law or denial of justice on your part, has appealed to us, as Lord Superior of the King of Scotland himself, seeking and supplicating that by us should be exhibited the justice wanting on your part to her, according to what, by reason of the royal superiority of government which we have in the same kingdom, she perceives pertains to us. But, since a hearing is not to be denied to those seeking their rights, and we are debtors to all in the administration of justice, we call upon you to appear before us within fifteen days after Michaelmas, wherever we may then be in England, to answer to the aforesaid Aufrica, upon the premises, and to do and promise whatever shall be just, which same day we have appointed to Aufrica to do and promise before us in like manner in those things which justice shall direct.—In testimony whereof, witness the King at Westminster, the 15th day of June."

ROTULI PARLIAMENTORUM.

Petition of John de Waldeboef to Edward I., as claimant of the Isle of Man.

A.D. 1304, 33 Ed. I. Ad petitionem Johannis de Waldeboef, petentis terram de Mau, cum insulis adjacentibus, tanquam verus heres carundem, pro eo quod Reginaldus, quondam Rex ejusdem terre de Man, obiit seiscitus de eadem, a quo descendeat jus cuidam Maric, filie ejusdem, que fuit uxor Johannis de Waldeboef, que quidem Maria alias prosequabatur jus suum coram Rege Anglie et fuit tunc ei responsum, quod prosequeretur jus suum coram Rege Scocie, eo quod terra illa tunc temporis tenebatur de ipso Rege Scocie, que obiit in prosequendo jus suum; de qua quidem Maria descendeat jus cuidam Wilhelmo, filio et heredi, predictæ Maric, et ab ipso Wilhelmo descendit jus Johanni de Waldeboef, filio et heredi predicti Wilhelmi, qui nunc petit, etc.

(Translation.)

On the petition of John de Waldeboef, seeking the land of Man, with the islands adjacent, as the true heir to them, in that Reginald, formerly King of the said land of Man, had died seized of the same, from whom the right descended to a certain Mary, daughter of the same, who was the wife of John de Waldeboef, which said Mary at another time prosecuted her right before the King of England, and the answer to her then was, that she should prosecute her claim before the King of Scotland, in that the said land was at that time held by the said King of Scotland, which Mary died in the prosecution of her right; from which said Mary the right descended to a certain William, son and heir of the said Mary, and from this William the right descended to John de Waldeboef, son and heir of the aforesaid William, who now petitions, &c.

Responsio.—Ita responsum est,—Sequatur coram Justiciariis de Banco Regis, et audiatur, et fiat justitia; et mittatur ista petitio dictis Justiciariis, sub magno sigillo Regis.

Answer.—It is thus answered,—Let it be prosecuted before the Justices of the King's Bench, and let it be heard, and let justice be done; and let the said petition be sent to the said Justices, under the King's Great Seal.

ROTULORUM ORIGINALIUM IN CURIA SCACCARII.

Edward II. resumes possession of the Isle of Man, A.D. 1310.

(Translation.)

The King to his beloved and faithful Henry de Bello Monte, or his lieutenant in the land of Man, greeting. Since on the 16th day of March, in the third year of our reign, we, of our own mere will, have, by our letters patent, granted to the prelates, earls, and barons of our kingdom to choose certain persons from among themselves to regulate the state of our household and of the kingdom aforesaid, and have granted to those so chosen full power to regulate the state of the household and kingdom aforesaid, as in the letters, &c., and the venerable Father R., Archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, earls, and barons chosen for this purpose, by virtue of our letters aforesaid; amongst other ordinaunces which they have made and published upon the premises, and which we have already accepted and confirmed, have ordained that all grants which since the said 16th day of March we have made of castles, towns, lauds, and tenements, balliages, wards, marriages, escheats, and remissions whatsoever, as well in Gascony, Ireland, Wales, Scotland, as in England, be revoked. Upon that, we have thought fit to resume into our hands the said our land of Man, which since the aforesaid 16th day of March we have given and granted to you, to be guarded by our beloved and faithful Gilbert Makaskel, so long as it shall please us; and have commanded it to be delivered to him and to our beloved and faithful Robert de Leibern, constable of our Castle of Cockermouth. We command you to cause the land aforesaid, &c., to be delivered without delay to the said Robert, to be further delivered to the aforesaid Gilbert.

CARTA THOMÆ RANULPHI, COMITIS MORAVIÆ DE INSULA MANNIE.

Robertus, Dei gratia, Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue, clericis, et laicis, salutem. Sciatis nos, etc., confirmare Thome Ranulphi, Comiti Moravie, et Domino vallis Amandie, nepoti nostri carissimo, pro homagio et servitio suo, totam Insulam Mannie, cum pertinentibus, una cum quadam alia insula eidem adjacente, quæ vocatur Calis, cum pertinentibus; tenendam et habendam eidem Thome et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, in feodo et hereditati, et in liberam regalitatem, sine aliquo retinemento, libere, quiete, plenarie, et honorifice, cum advocationibus ecclesiarum et monasteriorum, et cum omnibus et singulis articulis et querelis ad Corouam nostram Regiam spectantibus. Ac cum omnibus modis aliis libertatibus, commoditatibus, asiamentis, et justis pertinentibus suis, in omnibus, et per omnia, tam non nominatis quam supra predictas insulas inclusis, una cum regali administratione et justitia, facienda de omnibus

hominibus predictas insulas inhabitantibus, jam de omnibus hominibus episcopatus ibidem quam de cæteris hominibus aliis quibuscunque, tam infra tempus vacantis Episcopatus quam extra; ita quod nulli ministri nostri infra predictas insulas se de cætero in promissis intromittant. Salvo nobis et heredibus suis patronatu sedis episcopalis ibidem et ejusdem status in omnibus aliis; iuveuieudo inde nobis et heredibus nostris, dictus Thomas et heredes sui, sex uaves annuatim, quilibet viginti-sex remorum, cum hominibus et victualibus sex septimarum, cum iude fuerint rationabiliter premouiti. Et faciendo personalem appresentationem ad Parliamenta nostra et heredum nostrorum, infra regnum uostrum teuendum, per rationabiles quadraginta dierum summonationes. Et reddeudo nihilominus nobis et heredibus nostris annuatim, ad Festum Pentecosti, apud Inverness, centum marcas sterlingorum, nomine albe firme, tautum modo pro omnibus aliis terrenis servitiis, exactionibus, consuetudinibus, seu demandis que de predictis iusulis, cum pertinentibus exigi proterint aut demandari a quocunque. Nos vero et heredes sui predictas insulas, cum pertineutibus suis in omnibus et predictum est eidem Thome et heredibus suis, contra omnes mortales, warrantizabimus, acquitabimus, et plenarie defendemus. His testibus vcucriabilibus in Christo patribus, Wilhelmo, Joanne, Wilhelmo, Davide, et Davide, St. Andrie, Glasquensis, Dunkeldensis, Moravieusis, et Sodoreusis ecclesiarum, Dei gratia, Episcopis; Duncan, Comite de Fife; Patrio de Dunbar, Comite de Marchie; Malisio, Comite de Stratherne; Hugon, Comite de Ross; Waltero, Seueschallo Scotiæ; Jacobo, Domino de Douglas; et Gilbert de Haya, Constabulario nostro, Militibus, apud Bervicum-super-Twedam, vicessimo die Decembris, anno regni uostri uonodecimo.

(Translation.)

CHARTER OF ROBERT BRUCE TO THOMAS RANDOLPH, EARL OF MORAY, A.D. 1313.

Robert, by the grace of God, King of the Scots, to all honest men of his land, clergy and laity, greetiug. Know that we, &c., have confirmed to Thomas Raudolph, Earl of Moray, and Lord of Anuandale, our dearest nephew, for his homage and service, the whole Island of Mau, with appurtenances, together with a certain other island adjacent thereto, which is called Calf's, with appurtenances. To have and to hold to the said Thomas and his heirs, of us and of our heirs, in fee and heirship, and for a free royalty, without any restraint, freely, peaceably, fully, and honourably, with the adwosons of churches and monasteries, and with all and singular actions and complaints to our Royal Crowu appertaining; and with all other kinds of liberties, conveniences, casomeuts, and just appurtenaues, in all, and through all, as well as unmentioued as meutioned, without the aforesaid islauds, together with Royal government and justice, to be admiuistered over all men inhabitiug the aforesaid islands, as well as over all men of the Bishopric there, as of all other men whomsoever, as well as duriug the time of the vacant Bishopric as without. So that no minister of ours may from henceforth enter upon the premises within the aforesaid islands. Save and except to us and our heirs the patronage of the Episcopal See there, and its government in all other respects. Sending for us and our heirs, the said Thomas and his heirs, six ships

annually, each of twenty-six oars, with men, and provisions for six weeks, after a reasonable warning; and making a personal appearance at the Parliameut of us and our heirs, to be held within our kingdom, by reasonable summonses of forty days; and rendering, moreover, to us and to our heirs annually, at the Feast of Pentecost, Inverness, a hundred marks sterling, by the name of white-mail, only in lieu of all earthly services, exactions, customs, or demands which may be required or demanded by any person in the aforesaid islands, with appurtenances. And we and our heirs will warrant, acquit, and fully defend the aforesaid out islands, with their appurtenances, in all things as aforesaid, to the said Thomas and his heirs, against all people. These being witness: the Venerable Fathers in Christ, William, John, William, David, and David, by the grace of God, Bishops of the Churches of St. Andrew, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Moray, and Sodor; Duncan, Earl of Fife; Patrick of Duubar, Earl of March; Malise, Earl of Strathern; Hugh, Earl of Ross; Walter, Seueschal of Scotland; James, Lord of Douglas; and Gilbert de Haya, our Constable, Knights, at Berwick-upon-Tweed, the 20th day of December, in the 19th year of our reign.

NOTE 78—page 62.

This is a mistake of Sacheverell for Edward II. From the documents now brought forward, I would venture to suggest the following arrangement of events and the chronology connected with the Isle of Man for about 120 years after the Scottish Conquest:—

1270.—Conquest of the Isle of Man by the Scots, under John Comyn and Alexander Stewart of Paisley, in the Battle of Ronaldsway (*Chronicon Manniæ* gives the date 1275). Alexander placed successively, as Governors therein, M'Manus, Allan, Maurice Okerfair, Brennus, and Donald.

1290.—On the death of Alexander, 1285, in consequence of the confusion of the affairs in Scotland, the Manx are in great distress, and place themselves under protection of Ed. I. of England. Rymer, vol. ii. page 492. See document above, Note 76, letters patent to Walter de Huntercombe to hold the same.

1291.—Edward I., exercising his claim in the Isle of Man, presents Allan of Wygeton to the benefice of Kirk Cairbre, Odo to Santou, and Roland to Kirk Patrick of Jurby. Mary de Waldebeof sues for her right before Edward I., at Perth.

1292.—Edward I. appoints Nicholas Salgrave, and Osbert Spaldington, and John Southwell his justices, for hearing and determining the complaints of the Isle of Man. (*Rotuli Scotiæ*, Anno 20 Ed. I. See above, Note 74.) Edward I., at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nov. 5, orders John de Huntercombe to surrender the Island to John Balliol, King of Scotland.

1293.—The King of Scotland is cited by Edward I., at Westminster, June 11th, to appear and answer in the King's Bench against the claim of Aufrica de Connaught. (*Rotuli Scotiæ*.) Outlawry of Duncan M'Toryn removed.

1296.—Balliol deposed and thrown into prison by Edward I. The Scots continue in possession of the Isle. Balliol died in France, A.D. 1304.

1304.—Petition of John de Waldebeof to Edward I. as claimant to the Isle of Man; ordered to be heard in the King's Bench. (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*.)

1305.—Aufrica de Connaught makes over her rights in the Isle of Man to Sir Simon de Montacute (Sacheverell). Sir William Montacute prosecuting the claim of his mother, Aufrica de Connaught, wrests the Island from the Scots, and mortgages it to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham.

1307.—*Scire facias* issued to Anthony Beck, to show why he was holding the Isle of Man. Edward II. makes Piers Gaveston his Lieutenant; then grants the Isle to Henry Beaumont, with Gilbert de M'Gaskill as his Lieutenant.

1309.—Anthony Beck gets a grant of the Isle of Man for life from Edward II., and Gilbert de M'Gaskill acts as his *scneschal*.

1310.—Edward II. resumes possession of the Isle of Man, and delivers the same to Gilbert de M'Gaskill. (*Rot. Orig. in Curia Scaccarii*.) The Scots plan a winter invasion of the Island. Gilbert de M'Gaskill maintains his position.

1312.—Patent of Edward II. securing the kind treatment of the Manx—"quod homines Insulæ de Man bene tractentur." (*Rotuli Scotiæ*, Anno 5 Ed. II.) Dismissal of Sir Henry de Beaumont, who had been Lord of Man till 1310. (*Rotuli Parliamentorum*; see also Chalonier, page 15.)

1313.—Robert Bruce lands at Ramsey. Besieges and takes Castle Rushen. (*Chronicon Manniæ*.) Charter to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, to hold the Isle of Man under Robert Bruce. (*Rot. Orig. in Curia Scaccarii*.)

1316.—A band of Irish, under Richard de Mandeville, ravage the Isle of Man. (*Chronicon Manniæ*.)

1327.—Treaty between Robert Bruce and Ed. III., that if "war should be levied in Ireland against the King of England, or in the Isle of Man against the King of Scotland, neither of these Kings should assist the enemies of the other." (Robertson's *Political Index*, p. 102.)

1329.—Martoline, almoner to Murray, Regent of Scotland, sent to take care of religion and morals in the Isle of Man.

1333.—Edward III., May 30th, at Tweedmouth, orders possession to be taken of the Isle of Man by William Taylor, of Carlisle, and William M'Stephen. (*Rymer, Fœdera*, vol. v. p. 558.) The same year, June 8, he gives the Isle of Man to Sir William Montacute, to hold for one year, from the Feast of St. Michael; to pay the proceeds thereof into the Exchequer.

1334.—Edward Balliol presents himself to Edward III., and swears fealty to him for Scotland and the isles adjacent.

1338.—Appointment of Edmund Mactoryn, Escheator of Ireland, to expel the Scots from the Isle of Man, and to seize it from Richard de Mandeville, who had entered the Island with a multitude of Scotch felons. (*Rot. Pat. et Claus. Cancellariæ Hiberniæ*.)

1340.—John de Ergardia, who had married a daughter of the Red Comyn, and had been driven from the Island by Bruce in 1313, regained his possessions.

1342.—Permission of Edward III. to the men of the Isle of Man to enter into truces with the Scots. (*Rotuli Scotiæ*.)

1343.—Sir William Montacute the Second (created 1337 by Edward III. first Earl of Salisbury), having defeated the Scotch, obtained possession of his ancestral throne, and was crowned King of Man. He was grandson of Aufriea de Connaught, and great-grandson of Olave II., of the race of Goddard Crovan. He may have married for his first wife Mary de Waldebeof, great-gaunddaughter of Reginald, last Norwegian King but one of Man, and brother of Aufriea de Connaught. Mary was also great-great-granddaughter of Olave II.

1344.—Sir William Montacute (the Third), second Earl of Salisbury, and son of the above William, succeeded his father as King of Man.

1354.—Convention respecting the deliberations of David Bruce, that Sir Edw. de Balliol, and all others allies of the King of England, be comprised in certain truces. (*Rotuli Scotiæ*).

1357.—Solemu truces entered into with the messengers of Scotland, as a respite from the sufferings of war both by sea and land. (*Rotuli Scotiæ*.)

1393.—The above Montacute sold the Island to Sir William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, and died in 1397, without issue.

The Montacute family took a leading part in all the great events of the 14th century, and was continually engaged in the wars against the Scots. The Patent Rolls and the *Rotuli Scotiæ* contain many documents respecting them. The first Earl of Salisbury seems truly to have been a man of blood, but in consequence of the high favour which he obtained with Edward III., he managed to escape the consequences of his crimes. In the first year of Edward III. we meet with, in the Patent Rolls, a "*Pardonatio concessa Wilhelmo de Monte Acuto, de omnibus murdris,*" &c. The whole family appears to have been strongly imbued with Lollard principles, and yet, singularly enough, the first Bishop of Man, consecrated at Rome, was William Russell, 1348, in the time of the second Earl of Salisbury, by Pope Clement VI.; also the Bishopric of Sodor and Man was separated in the same Earl's life, 1380. His nephew and successor, John, suffered for Lollard principles. In the 51st of Edward III. (1377) we have a document entitled "*De Capiendo Katherinam de Monteacuto monialem de Bungay Apostatam.*" The following is a copy of the first grant of the Isle of Man to Sir William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, by Edward III., Anno 1333 (*Rymer*, vol. iv. p. 562):—"Super custodia Insulæ de Man. Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod commisimus dilecto et fideli uostro Wilhelmo de Monte Acuto custodiam Insulæ de Man, cum pertinentiis, habendum usque ad Festum Sancti Michaelis proximo futurum, et ab eodem festo per unum annum proximum sequentem, reddendo inde nobis per annum ad seaccarium nostrum extentam inde factum vel faciendam.—In ejus, &c., teste Regis apud Twedemouth, octavo die Junii. Per ipsum Regem." Translation:—"The King to all to whom these presents may come, greeting. Know ye that we have committed to our beloved and faithful William de Montacute the custody of the Isle of Man, with its appurtenances, to hold the same to next Michaelmas-day, and from that date for one year next following, on rendering thence to us for one year into our treasury the profits thence arising or to arise.—In testimony whereof, witness the

King at Twedemouth, the eighth day of June. By the King himself." We have further, under date Anno 7 Ed. III. (1333), a document in the Patent Rolls, in which it is said—"Rex relaxavit Wilhelmo de Monte Acuto totum jus suum in Insula de Man." It was this, no doubt, which led to his entering with state upon the throne of his ancestors, and being solemnly crowned King of Man, A.D. 1343. The same is given in Rymer (vol. iv. p. 574) thus:—"Anno 7 Ed. III. (1333). Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod de assensu Prælatorum, Comitum, Baronum, et aliorum magnatum, nobis assistentium remisimus relaxavimus te omnino pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quietum clamavimus, dilecto et fidei nostro Wilhelmo de Monte Acuto totum jus et clamium quod habemus, habuimus, vel, aliquo modo, habere proterimus in Insula de Man, cum suis pertinentibus quibuscumque; ita quod nec nos nec hæredes nostri seu quivis alius nostro nomine aliquid juris, vel clamii in Insula prædicta de cætero exigere poterimus vel vendicare.—In ejus, &c., teste Rege apud Topcliff, nono die Augusti. Per ipsum Regem." Translation:—"A.D. 1333. The King to all to whom these prescuts may come, greeting. Kuow ye that, by the consent of the Prelates, Lords, Barons, and other nobles, our assessors, we have remitted, surrendered, and altogether on our part. and that of our heirs, assigned peacefull possession to our beloved and faithful William de Montacute of all the rights and claims which we have, have had, or in any way could have, in the Isle of Man, with all its appurtenances whatever; so that neither we nor our heirs, nor any any other in our name, shall be able to exact or dispose of any right or claim in the aforesaid Island.—In testimony whereof, witness the King at Topcliff, the ninth day of August. By the King himself."

NOTE 79—page 62.

The right of Henry IV. to make such a grant to Sir John Stanley appears somewhat questionable. Let us inquire into the case. It is well known that Henry, Duke of Lancaster (afterwards Henry IV. of England), soon after his landing, in 1399, besieged Bristol Castle, which, not being able to hold out more than four days, the garrison surrendered at discretion. Amongst the prisoners was Wm. Scrope (the Earl of Wiltshire, who had purchased the crown of Man from Montacute) and two others of Richard the Second's Council, and extremely obnoxious to the people. Without any form of trial, Henry ordered them to be immediately beheaded. Notwithstanding the Act 34 Ed. III. chap. 12, which inhibited the escheators from claiming lands on the ground of treason surmised in persons then dead, who had not been attainted in their lifetime, Henry set up in opposition the military judgment, or Council of War, which had condemned these persons to death, and proceeded at once to deal with their property as that of persons under attainder, forfeited to the Crown, and subsequently, as appears by the proceedings in Parliament the 19th of November of that year, obtained the sanction of both Lords and Commons to legalize these acts. He had, however, previously, on the 18th October, given and granted the Isle of Man to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, by the following patent (Calendarium Rotulorum Patent, quinta

pars de anno 1^o Regis Henrici Quarti.) “Rex concessit Henrico de Percy, Comite Northumbriae, in feodo, Insulam, Castram, Pelam, et dominium de Man, cum omnibus insulis, maneriis, &c., una cum patronatu Episcopatus diocesis Insulae, cum libertatibus, per servitium portandi diebus coronationis Regis et heredum suorum ad sinistrum humerum, sive sinistros humeros Regis, seipsum per aut sufficientem et honorificum deputatum suum, illum gladium nudum quo cincti eramus quando in partibus de Holderness, applicuimus vocatum ‘Lancastre Sworde,’ durante proceessione et toto tempore solemuizationis coronationis supradictae.” Translation :—“1st year of King Henry IV. The King has granted, in fee, to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Island, Castle, Peel, and domain of Man, with all the islands, manors, &c. (thereto belonging), together with the patronage of the Bishopric of the said Island, together with ample liberties, by the service of carrying, on the day of the coronation of the King and his heirs, by the hand of himself, or some sufficient and honorable person, his deputy, at the left shoulder or left shoulders of the King, that sword naked with which we were girded when we landed in the parts of Holderness, called the ‘Lancaster Sworde,’ during the procession and whole time of the solemnization of the coronation aforesaid.” It is well worthy of note, that in this illegal document we meet for the third time with the grant of the patronage of the Bishopric. It is very clear that in the ancient times the clergy and people of the Isle of Man had elected their Bishop, and such in truth is the theory, though not the practice, of the Church in the present day. That such a grant of patronage to Percy was even in those days not looked upon as correct, seems indicated by the fact that in the charter (given by Camden) of the 19th Nov., 1399, issued with the sanction of the Lords and Commons, no mention at all is made of the Bishopric, and only the Lords Temporal are mentioned as consenting to the charter. Nor even in the charter of the Isle to Sir Jno. Stanley (given by Train, vol. i. p. 119) is there any mention made of the patronage of the Bishopric. It had been omitted in the grant made by Henry IV. on 4th October in the 6th year of his reign referred to by our author, and which is thus set forth in Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. viii. p. 410 :—“De insula de Mau concessa. Rex dilecto et fideli suo Wilhelmo Stanley, Chivaler, vel ejus locum tenenti in Insula de Man, salutem. Licet nuper per litteras nostras patentes commisimus vobis ac fideli et dilecto Johanni Stanley, Chivaler, Insulam, Castrum, Pelam, et dominium de Man ac omnia Insulas et dominia eidem Insula de Man pertinentia una cum regaliis, regalitatibus, franchisiis, et libertatibus, ac omnibus aliis proficiis et commoditatibus in dictis litteris nostris specificatis ad opus nostrum salvo et secure quamdiu nobis placuerit custodienda, &c.—Teste Rege, quarto die Octobris.” Translation :—“Concerning the grant of the Isle of Man. The King to his beloved and faithful William Stanley, Knight, or his Lieutenant in the Isle of Man, greeting. Although we lately, by our letters patent, entrusted to our beloved and faithful John Stanley, Knight, the Castle, Peel, and Domain of Man, and all the islands and domains pertaining to the same Isle of Man, together with the royalties, regalities, franchises, and liberties, and all other profits and commodities specified in the

said our letters for our good, safely and securely to have custody during our pleasure, &c.—Witness the King, on the fourth day of October.” The patent however, to Sir John Stauley, Anno Regis Henrici quarti (*Calendarium Rotulorum Pat*) does include the patronage of the Bishopric in the very same words as the patent to Henry Percy, above given. Sir John Stauley, the second who succeeded the first Sir John in 1414, seems to have profited by the hint thus given to his father by his liege lord, and forthwith, on his coming to the Island in 1417, he proceeded (in the manner so well pointed out by our author) to summon the whole church and state in “his land of Man,” to receive the decrees of as absolute a monarch as ever wielded a sceptre, and without any reference whatever to any “*salvo semper jure nostro et hæredum nostrorum*” on the part of the King of England. The grant of King Henry he evidently interpreted in the widest possible sense. Heretofore the Kings and the Lords of Man had been vassals to the Crown of Norway, Scotland, or England; but Stanley seems to have acknowledged allegiance to none; any reservation of a superior court of appeal in the English sovereign never entered into his acts. He was every inch a king. The very act of questioning his rights or murmuring against his enactments was treason, with the penalty of hanging and drawing. Sanctuary was to avail none; the guilty party was to be dragged from the horns of the altar and handed over to the civil power. The Bishop himself could not appeal to York or to King Henry; and so firmly does Stanley seem to have established his power in this respect that it was not till 1677 (more than 250 years after) that any question was raised upon it and appeal allowed from the Bishop of Man to York and proceedings taken therein; and even after that time we find Sacheverell writing, “the Lord is stiled Metropolitan and Chief of the Holy Church, and there lies no appeal to the Arches of York.” It was reserved to the apostolic Bishop Wilson to prove the unsoundness of such a doctrine, and on appealing to Cæsar “to vindicate his office, have his appeal heard, and judgment given in his favour.” As the Acts of Sir John Stanley will be printed separately by the Manx Society in a subsequent volume, there is no need to make quotations from them in this place. Sacheverell, in the text, has given the spirit of them very faithfully. He must justly be regarded as the great Napoleon and Autocrat of Man.

NOTE 80—page 63.

John Letherland is mentioned by our author (page 77 *infra*) first on the catalogue of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors since Sir John Stanley, 1417. There are, however, records naming one Michael Blundell as Lieutenant-Governor in 1407. He appears to have acted for the first Sir John Stanley to whom the Isle was granted by Henry IV.

NOTE 81—page 64.

See Note 48, *supra*. That the ceremony of the proclamation of the laws of the Isle of Man on Tynwald Hill should be continued to the present day, after all the vicissitudes and changes of hands through which the Island has passed, is a most

remarkable political phenomenon. It speaks strongly for the excellence and durability of the Manx national code. The phenomenon appears deeply to have affected the learned and candid foreigner, Professor Worsaae, of Copenhagen, on his visit to the Island, and he writes thus of it in his account of the Danes and Norwegians in the British Isles :—"It is indeed highly remarkable that the last remains of the old Scandinavian Thing which, for the protection of public liberty was held in the open air, in presence of the assembled people, and conducted by the people's chiefs and representatives, are to be met with, not in the North itself, but in a little island far towards the West, and in the midst of the British Kingdom. The history of the Manx Thing Court remarkably illustrates that spirit of freedom and that political ability which animated the men who in ancient time emigrated from Norway and the rest of the Scandinavian North."

NOTE 82—page 68.

See above, Note 79. The last year in which Sacheverell was Governor of the Isle of Man the bishopric became vacant by the death of Baptist Levinz, and continued vacant for five years, when Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, complaining to King William that a see in his province had long been vacant, the King urged the subject on the Earl of Derby, and threatened to fill up the vacancy himself! It was in consequence of this threat that Thomas Wilson, to use his own words, was "forced into the Bishopric," he having previously declined to undertake so great a charge. The proceeds of the Bishopric for the last year of the vacancy were devoted by the Earl of Derby to building St. Mary's Chapel in Castletown, as appears by an instrument issued to the Commissioners appointed to manage the revenue in the Isle of Man dated at Knowsley, the fourteenth day of February, A.D. 1697-8.

NOTE 83—page 69.

The power is not strictly exercised. When one of the Keys dies or retires, the remaining 23 elect two gentlemen of property whom they present to the Governor for his choice, and he determines which of the two shall sit in the House. Probably this satisfies the ancient law as given below by Sacheverell, that, "without the Lord's will, none of the 24 Keys to be."

NOTE 84—page 77.

The history of the Derby family in connection with the Isle of Man is best obtained from Seacome's *Memorials of the Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley*. At the time Sacheverell wrote there was some prospect of the people of Mona being governed as they had been under the honorable house of Derby. But the death, first of James, Lord Strange, son of William, Earl of Derby, in 1700 (see Note 2, above), then of the only and infant son of James, 10th and last Earl of that family, and lastly, of James himself in 1735, put an end to the hope of our author here expressed, and transferred the Isle of Man to the Atholl family, Amelia Sophia (youngest daughter of James Lord Strange) having married John, the third Earl of Atholl: and their great grandson John, third Duke of Atholl, having married his cousin, Charlotte Baroness Strange, their great-granddaughter, sold his rights in

the Isle of Man to the British Crown, by the Act of Revestment, in 1765, excepting his manorial rights, the patronage of the Bishopric and benefices, the mines, minerals, and treasure-trove. These last were purchased from his son John in 1825. The sum paid by the British Crown was £416,114.

NOTE 85—page 80.

Thomas Wilson had been Bishop of the Isle of Man only four years when this eulogium was passed upon him by Sacheverell, and he was then only 39 years of age, having been born at Barton, in Cheshire, in 1663. His future course, however, in an episcopate extending over a period of 59 years, fully justified Sacheverell's praise and hopeful anticipations. To him the Maux owe their *Magna Charta*, the Act of Settlement passed in 1703-4.

NOTE 86—page 80.

See *infra* page 91. He was fellow of Eton and uncle to the famous Dr. Isaac Barrow, master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was one of the *Sword* Bishops of the Isle of Man, so called from their holding the office of Governor along with that of Bishop. Bishop Barrow purchased, out of moneys collected in England, from Charles, eighth Earl of Derby, a long lease of the impropriate tithes of the Abbey third, and with these impropriations increased the salaries of the poorer clergy. A balance of £600, remaining in his hands, he set apart to endowing a mastership of his proposed academic institution, the origin of King William's College, Castletown, which institution he endowed from the Estates of Balla-gilley and Hango Hill.

NOTE 87—page 83.

The title under which the Bishop of the Isle is inducted (and which is given also in the Act for assuring and establishing of the Isle of Man in the name and blood of William, Earl of Derby, A.D. 1610) is, "Bishop of the Isle of Man, of Sodor, and of Sodor and Man." I presume the title, as far as the term Sodor is included, is simply given to make assurance (legally or illegally) doubly sure. The Bishopric of Man is the oldest existing Bishopric of the British Isles, having been established by St. Patrick in 447, in which St. Germanus was first Bishop. In 838 Pope Gregory the Fourth instituted the Bishopric of the Sudereys, consisting of thirty Islands (Norse, *Sudoer*, or Southern Islands, contrasted with the *Nordoer* or *Nordereys*, the Northern Isles—*i.e.*, the Orkney and Shetland Isles). In the year 1098, Magnus Barefoot, as we have already seen, conquering them and the Western Isles, united the Bishoprics into one, making the joint title of the Sudereys and Man, or Sodor and Man. This arrangement continued till near the close of the 14th century, or nearly 300 years, when, on the death of John Duncan, in 1380, the English being in possession of the Isle of Man and the Scotch of the Sudereys, the people and clergy of Man elected, it is said, Robert Waldby for their prelate, and the people and clergy of Iona and the Western Isles elected a person of the name of John for the Bishopric of Sodor. The Scotch do not seem to have used the term Bishop of Sodor, but called him Bishop of the Isles. The English seem, then, to have transferred the name Sodor to the little Isle on which the Cathedral of St. German stood, viz., Holme Sodor, or Peel, as appears in the above-

named Act for assuring and establishing of the Isle of Man in the name and blood of William, Earl of Derby, A.D. 1610.

NOTE 88—page 83.

Our author writes much about the Druids, but without adding to our stock of information or moving the cloud which hangs over their origin and history. It is daily becoming more evident that many of the monuments ascribed to them were the works of other hands than theirs, and that many must be traced to the religion of Odin. The stone circles formerly presumed to be their temples, turn out, many of them at least, to be of Scandinavian origin, oftentimes the burying-places of the Vikings; and their altars of sacrifice and cromlechs are the cap stones of cists of a Pagan period, which may or may not have been connected with their religion. The old derivation of their names from the Greek (*δρῦς*) *drús*, an oak, will hardly now satisfy etymologists. There appears a stronger inclination towards the more indigenous name of *trowys*, wise men. Yet if we allow (as we are almost compelled to allow) the eastern origin of this sect so strongly pointed to in their ceremonies and institutions, we may be disposed to look with favour upon any derivation connecting their name with the East itself. Pocock, in his *India in Greece*, whilst tracing in the ancient names of places the sources of the immigration from the East into Europe, has pointed to the probability that the name Hebudes, anciently given to the Western Isles, may be nothing more than *Hî-Budhes*, or Islands of the Budhists; and the *Druides*, the *Druopes*, or Chiefs of the Duras or Draus, a river of Tibet, and *pes* (Sanskrit) chiefs. Those who have witnessed the bon-fires lighted up on the mountains of Mona on old Midsummer eve will perhaps have suggested to them the *Boal-tyr*, or Baal's fire, and see some connection still subsisting between ourselves and the eastern fire-worshippers. I have in a previous note (Note 22, page 10) pointed to the same origin for the name of the Isle of Man.

NOTE 89—page 87.

This ancient MS. was doubtless the *Chronicon Manniæ*, written by the monks of Rushen Abbey. It commences with the Norman conquest of England and terminates with the Scottish conquest of the Isle of Man, when it was probably conveyed to the Abbey of Furness for security. There were, however, subsequent additions to it. Camden, who used it for his *Britannia*, at the date 1276 says "That which followeth was written in another hand and of a later character." This latter portion carries the history down to 1316. But the MS. used by Camden (and which he says he gives word for word) seems to have been condensed from that used by Johustone in his *Celto Normannicæ*, which has also given the portion omitted by Camden pertaining to the Bishopric of Man and the Isles, "a tempore Godredi Crouan et aliquanto tempore ante." This portion gives a list of bishops down to 1376, ending with John Duncan, a Manxman, the last true Bishop of Sodor and Man.

NOTE 90—page 87.

Wymund (called also Hamund, Reymund, and Vermundus), a monk of Savigny and Furness, was consecrated by Thomas II., (Thomas Turstan) Archbishop of

York, A.D. 1113, deposed and died in 1151. He married a daughter of Somerled, Thane of Argyle. See *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, and Haile's *Annals of Scotland*. Matthew Paris says, "Post conquestum Norvegornm, A.D. 1098, binæ sedes Sodor et Man in unum coalnerunt et primus episcopus fuit Wymundus sive Wermundus." I am disposed to believe that at first the consecration of the Bishops of Man and the Bishops of Sodor, or the Isles, whilst under the Norwegians, was made at Tronjem (Drontheim), and that the Archbishops of Nidrosien was the metropolitan. The influence of the Abbey of Rushen seems, however, to have been always exercised in drawing the Island towards Rome, and in almost every case where an Abbot or Monk of Furness was elected Bishop of Sodor and Man, he managed to get his consecration at York. We have a remarkable instance of this in a document from amongst the Harleian MSS. of the British Museum, (Harl. MSS., 1808. p. 57) which is printed in extenso in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, entitled "Recognitio Olavii Regis Manniæ et Insularum," it appears also in the Registry of York Cathedral, under the heading "Littera Regis Insularum quod Episcopus suus consecraretur apud Eborum," of which the following is a translation:—"Olave, by the grace of God King of the Isle, to Thurstan, by the same grace Archbishop of York, health and prayers in Christ. The fame of your sanctity reaching everywhere throughout the world, as also the illustrious praise of your predecessors, which your notable virtue both in public and private actions, permits to be in no hidden corner, and have not a little rejoiced us also. We therefore praise the goodness of the Almighty King, rendering thanks to Him for what the Lord has vouchsafed to do amongst you, inasmuch as He has exalted you above all your neighbours in dignity and sanctity. Furthermore, we notify you that Eudo, the Lord Abbot of Furness, a monastery from which we are not far distant by sea, upon our hearing the report of the religious sanctity of the same place by a threefold petition, by our persuasion, engaging with much confidence in a difficult journey with diligence and arduous toil, and with profitable labor for the extension of the Church, by God's blessing came even to us. Also, by our decree and the choice of the people, it has been determined amongst us that a Bishop should be chosen from the number of his fellows to have the oversight of the propagation of Christianity in the Islands of the Gentiles. Wherefore we entreat you, and humbly implore the favour of your good will that by imposition of your hands that may be ratified which, by the common consent, has been sought to be effected to the glory of God and the good of our own souls, viz., that our Bishop elect, as speedily as it can be done, may be advanced to the grade of a Bishop under the seal of your authority, for the love of God and us. The Lord Abbot, therefore, relating to us such wonderful and holy things concerning you, and declaring that he neither will nor can go to any other person than yourself his Father, being filled with great joy for all these things, we render thanks to the utmost of our ability to our God. Farewell to your Holiness in the Lord." I am disposed to consider the above document as having reference to the election and consecration of Wymund by Thomas Thurstan. There is, however, this difficulty

of dates. Olave I. (Olave Kleining, or the Dwarf) according to the generally received chronology, did not really come to the throne till A.D. 1114, though as a minor (as we have seen above, Note 59) he succeeded Lagman in 1111, and he did not endow the Abbey of Rushen (an offshoot of Furness) till A.D. 1134. It is right, however, to refer to the fact above stated, that the *Chronicon Mannie* gives 1075 as the date of the death of Lagman, and 1102 as that for Olave's coming to the throne. A further difficulty arises from the circumstance that Eudo de Sourdeval was not Abbot of Furness till 1134, when he succeeded Ivo, or Evan, who was first Abbot in England after the removal of the Abbey from Amounderness. It appears, therefore, highly probable that the "Hamondus filius Joli" (of the *Rushen Chronicle*, and Sacheverell), who was Bishop in the days of Goddard Crovan, was not the same person as the Vermundus or Wymundus of Matthew Paris and others said to have been the first Bishop of Sodor and Man. Sacheverell says it is not certain by whom Wymund was succeeded. His successor, however, was John, a monk of Seez or Sais, in Normandy, consecrated 1151 by Henry M'Murdoch, Archbishop of York. See *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. Their successor, Gamaliel, was consecrated by Roger, Archbishop of York, 1160.

NOTE 91—page 88.

Christian, A.D. 1190, was a native of Argyle. He was perhaps Bishop of Whithorn 1154-86.

NOTE 92—page 88.

The *Rushen Chronicle* says—"Being a monk, he was, for his mildness, gravity, and eminent qualities, raised to the episcopal dignity, and died at a very advanced age, and was honourably interred apud Fontanas" (*i.e.*, Fountain's Abbey).

NOTE 93—page 88.

Nicholas de Meaux, Abbot of Furness, "consecratus ad Ebudas ubi tunc, per quadraginta annos Episcopus non fuerat ex quo Nemasus invivis erat" (*Chronicon Islandicum Langebeck*). According to the *Monasticon* (vol. vi. p. 1186) he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim; yet the following document in the Harleian MSS. (Harl. MSS. 1808, fol. 57b), though in an imperfect condition, might lead us to infer otherwise, and that he was consecrated at York. It is entitled "Supplicatio Regis Oreadum Decano et Capitulo Eborum." The translation runs thus:—"To the Dean and entire holy couclave of brethren of the veverable and holy Church of York; Olave, by the grace of God, King of the Isles, whatever to the contrary and evilly, by a brother's choice, is pretended. Diligently understanding the letter of your fraternity, we both perceive what is contained in it, and also concerning the community of your prayers and fellowship, and your service; and if we cannot render the thanks which we ought, still do we endeavour unceasingly to render what we can, in all anxiety, towards you, to the honour of God and the dignity of your mother, the Church, which, as you ought by no means to diminish, consider diligently how you should labour, all hindrance and delay being put aside, to send back to us our elect Nicholas, consecrated by the hands of your Archbishop; otherwise, which God forbid, the mutual spiritual

devotion of love, which we promised for your exaltation, by a decree passed by the sanction of our united clergy and laity, shall perish for ever without hope of reparation.

"Moreover, the clamor or unjust complaints of the Furnensians do not hitherto move us, nor the quarrel which they seem to have, because this thing is done rather than another, not according to the Lord or men. But do ye honorably receive our ambassadors, intimating to you nothing else than what you have heard; having so received them, send them back without delay, together with our bishop. Farewell."

It must be borne in mind that at this time (see above note 67) Reginald was usurping the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, and Olave, the rightful king, was an exile in the Isle of Lewis; and yet, exile as he was, he claimed and exercised his right in the share he had with his people in the election of a Bishop of the Isles, in opposition to Reginald and the Monks of Furness Abbey.

To understand the opposition of the Monks of Furness, we must refer to a bull of the 4th year of Pope Celestine III., dated at Rome, 1195, in which we meet with the following passage:—"We do, by our Apostolic authority, confirm the liberty which the Kings of the Isles, Olavo, and Godred his son, granted to the Monastery of Furness, of appointing the Bishop of Man, as fully empowered in their original grants." The election, therefore, of Nicholas, by the sanction, as it would seem, of the entire clergy and laity, without reference to the clamour of the Furnensians, could not but be distasteful to them, though it was an election of one of their own body. Supposing that the Dean and Chapter of York rejected the supplication of Olave, we can understand how it came to pass that Nicholas was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim, as stated in the *Monasticon*. Nicholas held the Bishopric till the year 1216. He died whilst on a visitation, and was buried at Benchor, or Bangor, in Ireland. The Abbot of Bangor was a Baron of the Isle of Man, and had possessions in it, which were confiscated by Sir John Stanley.

NOTE 94—page 88.

It is related of Reginald, in the *Chronicon Manniæ*, that, being on a visitation of the churches, he arrived at the Lewis, where Olave then was. And when Olave would have detained him at a sumptuous banquet, he refused, saying—"I will not partake with thee, brother, till the Church hath annulled thy illicit marriage. Art not thou sensible that thou art wedded to the cousin of the woman who is now thy consort?" Olave could not resist the truth; convening, therefore, the clergy, Bishop Reginald divorced Joan, the daughter of a nobleman of Kintire, from Olave, who then married Christina, the daughter of Ferquard, Earl of Ross.

NOTE 95—page 88.

In A.D. 1219 a Bishop of Man, perhaps this John M'Harfare, was elected by the Monks of Furness, and consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, but could not get possession, owing to the hostility of the King. Honourous III. charged

Pandulf and the Bishop of Carlisle to see him righted, and in 1224, May 15th, allowed him to resign, retaining the episcopal insignia (see *Vatican Papers and Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*). John, a Bishop of Man, is found in 1230 attesting a deed of Archbishop Walter Grey (Le Neve). Jerewas is Jarrow, in Northumberland.

NOTE 96—page 88.

Simon was of Argyle. His statutes are given in Ward's *Ancient Records of the Isle of Man*, and in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. He was consecrated at Bergen, by Archbishop Peter, of Drontheim, A.D. 1236, according to the *Registrum Sacrum, Anglicanum*, though the date usually given is 1230. He commenced the building of St. German's Cathedral, at Peel. The date of his death is given in the *Chronicon Mannie*, Feb. 23, 1247; this, however, seems doubtful, as we find in 1244, Feb. 15, Pope Innocent IV., at the request of the Monks of Furness, gave authority to the Archbishops of York, with consent of the Archbishops of Droutheim, to consecrate a Bishop of Man. It appears, by the *Chronicon Mannie*, that after the death of Simon the bishopric was vacant six years.

NOTE 97—page 88.

Laurence the Archdeacon was sent to Norway, for Royal assent and consecration, A.D. 1247. The latter, in consequence of some informality in the election, was delayed. In the Paisley Chartulary, under date A.D. 1253, we find a charter of Stephen, Bishop of Sodor, and administrator of Lismore, Argyle.

NOTE 98—page 88.

The performance of the ceremony of consecration in the Papal presence seems to indicate that the Church of Man had now surrendered her liberties, and henceforth the sanction of the Roman Pontiff was deemed necessary to the making the bishops whenever the English or Scotch had possession of the Isle. After the Scottish conquest of the Island, the monarch of Scotland, Alexander, seems to have claimed the right of nominating the successor to Richard, and Bruce even included the patronage of the Bishopric in his grant of the Isle to Randolph, Earl of Moray.

NOTE 99—page 89.

Mark was a Gallovidian, consecrated in Norway, by John Archbishop of Drontheim. Thirty-five canons were made by him in 1291. See *Monasticon*.

NOTE 100—page 89.

This appears to be the "Alanus de Wygeton" of whom mention has before been made, as having letters of presentation to the living of Kirk Cairbre (Kirk Arbory) from Edward I., in 1291. Probably Onanus, or Inanus, was another person, and bishop in 1298, and after him in 1303, Mauritius. Allan was consecrated A.D. 1305, by Jorund, Archbishop of Drontheim, who died Feb. 13th, 1321. After him Gilbert M'Lellan was consecrated, in 1321, by Eiluff, Archbishop of Droutheim. The *Chronicon Mannie* states that he ruled two and a half years, and like his predecessor Allan Gilbert was buried at Rothsay, in Bute. Bernard de Linton was elected in 1328, and consecrated at Norway, 1329.

NOTE 101—page 89.

Thomas was also consecrated at Norway, A.D. 1334. He ruled 18 years, and was buried at Scone, in Scotland, Sept. 20, 1348. A silver bracelet of "Thomas, by the grace of God Bishop of Man," was dug up, in 1855, in a garden near Rathmines, Dublin; now in possession of Capt. Ed. Hoare, of the Cork Rifles.

NOTE 102—page 89.

It will be observed that Sacheverell is not quite correct in stating that he was the first that shook off the yoke of the Archbishop of Drontheim. (See Note 98 supra.) The *Chronicon Manniæ*, however noting that he was the first Bishop of Sodor consecrated by the Apostolic See, adds, all his predecessors were wont to be consecrated and confirmed, by their Metropolitan "Nidorensis Episcopus." He was consecrated in 1348, when Montacute was King of Man. Under the Montacutes, therefore, we notice that the Manx Church became most closely united to the Apostolic Sec.

NOTE 103—page 90.

John Duncan, 1374, was consecrated at Avignon, by Simon Langham, Bishop of Præneste, along with eight others, on the festival of St. Catherine, in the Monastery of the Predicant Friars. He died in 1380, the last of the true Bishops of Sodor and Man. No Manxman since his time has been Bishop of the Isle of Man. His election was by the Church of Man itself, and he was the last so elected. In 1390 we find one John Sodorensis Episcopus, having a suffragan commission from the Bishop of Salisbury (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, and Rymer).

NOTE 104—page 90.

Robert Waldby Adurensis, i.e., of Airo, in Gascony, ought not, according to the *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, to be in the list of Manx Bishops. In 1425, July 20th (*Wadding Annales Minores*) we read of one John Burgelin, a Franciscan, as provided, but it is doubtful if he were ever in possession. Also, one Richard Pulley is mentioned in the Manx Statute Books in 1430, as having held a visitation in 1429. His statutes are in the *Monasticon*. In 1449 John Green, vicar of Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, was Bishop, and in 1452 was made a suffragan of Lichfield. He died that same year, and in 1455 Thomas Burton, a Franciscan, was made Bishop (*Wadding*); then in 1458, Thomas, of Kirkham; and in 1480, Richard Oldham, Abbot of Chester, who died Sept. 19, 1486, and was buried at Chester. It is unaccountable how Sacheverell should have omitted all these Bishops, inserting the name of one, who to say the least, is doubtful.

NOTE 105—page 90.

The date of John Sprotton is 1402.

NOTE 106—page 90.

It may seem strange that Sacheverell should have split up Hugh, Huan, or John Hesketh into two bishops. The various ways, however, in which the Christian name was pronounced and spelt has originated error in others besides Sacheverell. For instance, Heylin in his MS. catalogue of the Manx Bishops in

the British Museum, gives the date of his death as 1510, and he is followed in this by (I believe) all writers. Yet it is quite certain that he was alive in 1520, and most probable that he was still Bishop of Man in 1532. For William Cole, the Cambridgo antiquary, in his MSS. collections tells us (vol. xxvi., p. 24) that Huan Hesketh was living in 13 Henry VIII., 1521, at which time Thomas, Earl of Derby, appointed amongst others Sir Hugh Hesketh, Bishop of Man, to be one of his executors. Wolsey was appointed supervisor of the will, and in it called Lord Chancellor; as he was made Lord Chancellor in 1516, this proves that Huan Hesketh was alive after 1510. Again, Huan Hesketh had a brother Richard, "learned in the law," and said to have been attorney-general to King Henry VIII. This Richard by his will, dated 15th August, 1520, appoints his "trusty brethren Hugh, Bishop of Mann, and Thomas Hesketh, Esq.," executors. The will was proved November 13, 1530. But still further in the *Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, under dato July 31, 1532, we meet with an indenture between the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of Sodor and the Isle of Man, and the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Derby. There is no doubt that in Manx orthography Huau and John are one and the same. Hence we argue that Huan Hesketh (called also *Blackleach* in Le Neve) was Bishop of Man from 1487 to 1532, that is 45 years at least. He may have been Bishop ten years longer until 1542, when Thomas Stanley was consecrated. Even then, long as he would have exercised the episcopal office, he would not have attained to the length of the episcopate of Thomas Wilson, who was Bishop of Man from 1697 to 1755. In the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i., p. 718, we have a charter from Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby and Lord of Man, dated March 28, 1505, giving and granting to Huan, Bishop of Sodor, a confirmation of the church lands, tithes, possessions and liberties which had ever been granted by his predecessors, the Kings and Lords of Man, to the Church and Bishop of Man. A tardy acknowledgment of the injustice done to the Church of Man nearly one hundred years before by his ancestor, Sir John Stauley II.

NOTE 106^a—page 90.

Between Hugh Hesketh and Robert Ferrier, Thomas Stanley was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man in 1542. He is said to have been an illegitimate son of Edward Stanley, 1st Lord Monteagle, of Hornby Castle, County Lincoln, (Brown Willis's *History of Cathedrals*). The statute of 33rd King Henry VIII. dissevering the Isle of Man from Canterbury and annexing it to the province of York, being passed at the commencement of his episcopate, he not complying (as it is said) with the measure, was deprived in 1545. After the See had been occupied by Robert Ferrier and Henry Mann (the latter of whom died in possession), Thomas Stanley was restored by Mary in 1556, and continued quietly to exercise his episcopal functions in the time of Elizabeth. It is not quite certain how long he continued Bishop after the restoration. Seacome, in his *History of the Ancient and Honourable House of Stanley* (page 49), speaks of him as a legitimate son of the 1st Lord Monteagle, and further states that on his father's death, becoming

Lord Monteagle, he resigned his bishopric, also that he married Ann, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorp, in the county of Nottingham, and by her was great grandfather of William, Lord Monteagle, so noted in the history of the gunpowder plot. Seacome gives no date. Bishop Thomas Stanley was at any rate a wealthy pluralist. According to Brown Willis he had a dispensation from the Pope to hold his preferments, especially the rectory of Wigan. He was pastor of Badsworth in Yorkshire, of Berwick, and rector of Winwick, in Lancashire, and North Meols (now Southport). With such emoluments, no wonder he indulged in much luxurious living, and hence we meet with the following amusing paragraph respecting him in a letter of Bishop Pilkington of Durham, to Archbishop Parker, probably 1564 :—"The Bishop of Man (Thomas Stanley) liveth here at his ease, and as merry as Pope Joan.—To the Hon. and Rev. my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury." (*Correspondence of Archbishop Parker*, Parker Society, p. 222.) (See also Baines's *Lancr.*, vol. iii. p. 100).

We may well ask, what reformation of religion was made in the Isle of Man during his episcopate, as he was Bishop in the days both of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. The evidences of any true reformation are very meagre. There is the dissolution and plunder of the Abbey of Rushen occurring in this period. (See my *Story of Rushen Castle and Rushen Abbey*.) We find also in the articles of injunction issued by Edmund, Archbishop of York, 10th October, 3rd Elizabeth, the Bishop of Sodor and Man was included in the persons to whom they were to be sent. These articles had reference "ad deponenda et dirigenda sollaria cellaria et sustentacula illa quæ vulgari hujus regni Angliæ lingua, 'roods lofts,' appellantur." But Bishop Stanley, like Galio, cared for none of these things. He "lay at his ease," an admirable example of episcopal non-interference when innovations were proceeding in his diocese. Nor did his successor, John Salisbury, seem much more active in the matter of reformation; and it is not till 1594, in the last year of Henry, Earl of Derby, who had obtained from Elizabeth the spoils of Rushen Abbey, and during the latter part of the episcopate of John Merrick, that we find exhibited at a Tynwald Court certain articles to be inquired of at the next consistory court, amongst which the following occur :—"Item. That they take order that the Queen's Majesty's injunctions be read in their churches.—Item. That they inquire of and present all such as carry bells or banners before the dead, or pray upon the graves of the dead.—Item. That they inquire and present if there be any person or persons within this Isle that refuse to come to church to hear divine service or receive the blessed sacrament of the Lord's supper."

NOTE 107—page 90.

Robert Ferrar or Ferrier, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, in 1533, is found subscribing as Bishop of Sodor in 1545. He was translated to St. David's in 1546, and was imprisoned during the reign of Edward VI., for his Lutheran opinions; and on Mary's accession was condemned as a heretic, degraded, and burnt at the Market Cross, Caermarthen, March 30, 1555. Burnet mentions his consecration as taking place in 1548.

NOTE 108—page 90.

Sacheverell is sadly incorrect in this period of his history. Henry Mann, D.D., and Dean of Chester, had the royal assent to his nomination on January 22, 1546. In St. Andrew's, Undershaft Church, city of London, is the following epitaph on him :—" Henry Mann, Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, sometime Bishop of Man, which Henry departed this life October 15, 1556, and lieth buried under this stone." (See Brown Willis's *History of Cathedrals*, p. 367.)

NOTE 109—page 90.

John Salisbury, LL.B., suffragan Bishop of Thetford, Dean of Norwich, and Chancellor of Lincoln, and Archdeacon of Anglesea, was nominated to this see in 1569. He died in 1573, and was buried in Norwich Cathedral (Brown Willis). On his death either the Bishopric was vacant four years, or, as some state, James Stanley, son of Lord Monteagle, was nominated Bishop. Should this latter be the case, we are the better enabled to understand the mistake of Sacheverell in putting Thomas Stauley after Salisbury, and also the statement of Seacome (p. 49) respecting a Thomas Stanley, son of Edward, first Lord Monteagle and Bishop of Man, resigning the Bishopric on the death of his father, when he succeeded to the family estates. There can be no doubt, however, respecting the appointment of John Merriek, A.D. 1577; for in the Insular Statute Book, we read—" At a Tynwald Court held in July 13th, in the year 1577, near the Chapel of St. John, before the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of Derby, his barons and clerks, council, and assembly of the Island, John Merriek was called in and sworn Bishop according to the law." He, like Thomas Stanley, was a Sword Bishop, *i.e.*, he was Governor as well as Bishop. He died in 1599. The imperfect list of Sacheverell for this century ought to be corrected thus :--

Huan or John Hesketh.....	Consecrated A.D.	1487
	Died	1542 (?)
Thomas Stanley.....	Consecrated	1542
	Deprived by Henry	1545
Robert Ferrier	Consecrated	1545
	Translated to St. David's	1546
Henry Mann	Consecrated (under Henry VI.)	1546
	Died in possession Oct. 17.....	1556
Thomas Stanley.....	Restored by Mary	1556
	Died in possession	1569
John Salisbury	Nominated	1569
	Died.....	1573
James Stanley (?).....	Appointed	1573
	Resigned	1577
John Merriek	Sworn Bishop and Governor...	1577
	Died	1599

NOTE 110—page 91.

William Forster, D.D., Fellow of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary

of Chester, ought to come in after John Phillips. He was consecrated A.D. 1633, held a court at Douglas, October, 1634, and died in the beginning of 1635.

NOTE 111—page 91.

See Note 37 *supra*.

NOTE 112—page 91.

Samuel Rutter landed at Ronaldsway, September 21, and on the 24th came to Castle Rushen, and was installed October 8, 1660 (Marown Parochial Register). He had previously been Archdeacon many years, during the civil wars. In the second siege of Latham House, Mr. Rutter, acting as chaplain to the garrison, managed also the correspondence. A story is told of a dog about whose neck he used to tie despatches, and then being driven out of the house, the dog betook himself to the house of a friend three miles off, who had been instructed where to look for the papers. In like manner, when the answers were obtained, the dog, being beaten back again into Latham House, communicated the desired information to its inmates. This continued for some months till the dog was shot by the enemy. The great Earl of Derby was much attached to Mr. Rutter, and makes frequent mention of him in his letters to his children and wife, and to his eldest son he writes—"He is a man for whom you and I may both thank God." His epitaph, written by himself, was found 1846 on a brass plate in a well in Peel Castle, the plate having been formerly stolen from his tomb in the Cathedral. It runs thus:—"In hac domo quam a vermiculis accepi (confratribus meis) spe resurrectionis ad vitam, jacco Sam., permissione divinâ, Episcopus hujus Insulæ. Siste lector—vide et ride Palatium Episcopi! Obiit xxx die mensis Maii, 1663."

NOTE 113—page 92.

John Lake was translated to Bristol A.D. 1684, and again translated to Chichester, 1685. On the 8th June, 1688, he was committed, with six other bishops, to the Tower, by James II., for petitioning him against the publication of the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*. He died 1689.

NOTE 114—page 92.

The ancient arms of the Bishopric are said to have been "Azure, St. Columba, at sea in a cock-boat, all proper, in chief, overhead a blazing star, or." (*Train* vol. ii., p. 81). If these were the arms of the Bishopric of Sodor and Man, and not of the Isles or Sodor alone, I should rather interpret the figure as St. Maughold in his wicker-boat, covered with hides.

NOTE 115—page 92.

Since the year 1846 there has only been one Vicar-general, and he a layman.

NOTE 116—page 92.

Trinity Church belonging to (Manx, *lesh*, towards) the Sheading of Ayr, contrasted with Trinity Church in the Sheading of Rushen. Though dedicated in honor of the Holy Trinity, both churches and the parishes are called Christ's, as Kirk Christ Rushen and Kirk Christ Lezayre.

NOTE 117—page 93.

See Note 34, p. 14, above.

NOTE 118—page 93.

Braddan is derived from St. Brendinus, one of the early Bishops.

NOTE 119—page 93.

Marown is St. Rooney, as Malew is St. Lupus.

NOTE 120—page 93.

Kirk Arbory from St. Cairbre. See Note 34, p. 14, above. I do not know on what authority Sacheverell states it to be dedicated to St. Columbus.

NOTE 121—page 93.

Considerable dispute has arisen as to the origin of the name given to these chapels. They are named treen chapels, and Manx tradition attributes their original institution to St. Germannus as in the following translation of an old ballad of 1520 :—

“To each four quarterlands a chapel he made,
For the people to meet in and pray;
He built German Kirk in the Castle of Peel,
Which remaineth to this day.”

As there were seven hundred and seventy-one of these quarterlands, the total number of chapels can hardly have been less than 193, or $11\frac{1}{2}$ to each parish. Venerable Bede states the population of the Island in his time not to have exceeded three hundred families (*Ecclesiastical History*, book ii., chap. 9). This would have given more than one chapel to two families, supposing their erection at that early date and in the same number. This seems very improbable, yet we may observe that many of them were so small that they could hardly contain more than 15 persons or three families. I measured one at Chibber-Vondey, near Grenaby, (which is a fair specimen of the rest) and found that it measured only eight feet in length by four-and-a-half feet in width inside, or an area of 36 square feet. In the parish of Marown (the central parish) there are even now the remains of four of these chapels, one at Ballacrink, another at Ballaquinney-moar, a third at Ballalough, and a fourth at Ballingan, to which we may add as ancient places of worship the parish church, and that of St. Trinian's, the latter in ruins. It should be observed that the quarterland, on an average, consists of about 100 acres, more or less. If we divide 89,458, the number of acres at present cultivated on the Island and paying tithe by 771, the number of quarterlands, this would give about 116 acres to each quarterland. The term *quarterland*, as well as *treen*, is of uncertain origin; the former may have something to do with a payment anciently made to the Sovereign. The Manx *treen* signifies three, and hence Cregeen, in his *Manx Dictionary*, has stated that *treen* means a portion of land dividing tithe into three. If so, it may have to do with that arrangement made by Olave I., who divided the tithes of the Island into three parts, one for the bishop, another for the clergy, and the third for the Abbey of Rushen. So that each of these treen divisions would pay a certain sum, the third of the tithe of 400 acres, to the priest officiating in the little oratory belonging to it. At present the amount of tithe paid to the parochial clergy on 89,458 acres is £3,292 12s., about £1 upon every 27 acres, or 9d. per acre—

i.e., £15 to each treen. No doubt in ancient times the tithe was a proportionally larger sum, and if one priest served three chapels there would have been sufficient maintenance for him. At the present time there is upon the Island about one clergyman to every four treens, but the population has so largely increased that there is only one to every thousand souls. The Abbey Lands were not divided into treens, and this seems to point out that treen was an ecclesiastical division. The term *treen* has been also derived from the Manx *stroans*, streams, and supposed to indicate a portion of land between two streams or river boundaries. The derivation *te* or *jeih reene* (ten sureties) has also been proposed by the Rev. W. Mackenzie, and it has been argued that each treen consisted of ten families and each parish of ten treens. As there are six sheadings in the Island, each sheading would thus contain about 30 treens. If we could once fix the meaning of the term *treen*, that of *quarterland* would immediately follow, as being a quarter or fourth of a treen.

NOTE 122—page 94.

This was at Mirescogh, in Lezayre, and was given as an offering to the Venerable Sylvanus, Abbot of Rieval, on the occasion of his performing (by direction of Vivian, Cardinal Legate of the Apostolic See) a canonical marriage between Godred II. and Fingala, daughter of M'Lauchland, 1176. Here Sylvanus built a monastery. In after times, however, the donation was transferred to the Abbey of Rushen, and the monks transplanted thither. (See *Chronicon Manniæ*, page 22.)

NOTE 123—page 94.

Banchor, St. Bede, Sabal, and Whithorn, or St. Trinian.

NOTE 124—page 94.

The history of the Manx Church is full of interest, and though the Bishopric of Man be now the smallest in the British Isles, it has the honor of being the most ancient, and of having enjoyed an uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the first introduction of Christianity till now, not experiencing a break even at the Reformation, as we have seen that Thos. Stanley was Bishop in Henry VIII., Mary, and Elizabeth's days. The See was vacant at the time of the Commonwealth, and Rutter, who had been Archdeacon, was subsequently appointed to it. The Manx Church possesses and exercises the privilege of meeting in convocation without license, let, or hindrance, and therein discussing freely her wants and grievances, without fear of the penalties of *præmunire*. It is a privilege which has never been in abeyance; and further, the canons drawn up in her synodical meetings have received (what those of the Church of England have not) the sanction of the Legislature, and are part of the Statute Law of the Isle. The famous constitutions of Bishop Wilson, 1703, are particularly decisive on this point. They were enacted without any authority previously obtained from the civil power, and would have had all the force of canons binding on the clergy had they never been accepted by the Legislature. The following words at the end of those constitutions place the subject in a very distinct light :—" Now, forasmuch

as *some* of the orders and constitutions in this synod agreed to, are such as do require the authority of the civil power to make them effectual to the ends they are designed," &c. The words also of the Governor, Council, and Keys are—"We approve of and consent to them as far as concerns the civil power." And if any doubt could exist before as to the power of the Manx convocation to legislate for the Church of Man, it has been completely cleared up by the following clause, which also occurs at the end of the constitutions:—"And for the better government of the Church of Christ, for the making of such orders and constitutions as shall from time to time be found wanting, there shall be (God willing) a convocation of the whole clergy of the diocese on Thursday in Whitsun-week, every year." May it be long ere the Church of the Isle of Man, by any suicidal Act, surrenders these her happy privileges.

NOTE 125—page 95.

Those who desire to learn the present state of Iona, and to have a full account of its ecclesiastical and monumental remains will do well to consult Graham's *Antiquities of Iona*, published by Day and Son, London. The narrative of Saecheverell's voyage thither, though printed with his description of the Isle of Man, it is not thought desirable in the present edition to illustrate with Notes. "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force on the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona" (Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*).

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 Dixon, Rev. R., D.D., Principal of King William's College, Castletown.
 Drinkwater, Deemster (a Donation) Kirby.
 Drury, Rev. Wm., Vicar of Braddan.
 Duggan, Rev. W., Vicar of Murown.
 Dumbell, Geo. Wm., Belmont, Douglas.
 Dunlop, Alex. Murray, M.P., Greenock.
 Dutton, Miss, Villa Marina, Douglas.
 Falconer, Col., Strathallan Park, Conchan.
 Fargher, Robert, Douglas.
 Farrant, William, H.K., Ballamoar, Jurby.
 Farrant, E. Curphey, H.K., Ballakallingan, Lezayre.
 Faulder, Edward, H.K., Ellerslie, Marown.
 Fleming, Maxwell, M.D., Douglas.
 Fordati, James, Sycanores, Ballisalla.
 French, Gilht. J., F.S.A., Cor. Mem. S.A. Scot., Bolton-le-Moors.
 Garbett, Mrs., Fearn's Head, Warrington.
 Garrett, P. L., Douglas.
 Garrett, Thomas, Douglas.
 Garrett, John, Liverpool.
 Garston, Edgar K. S., Aigburth.
 Gawne, Edw. M., Speaker of the H.K., Kentraugh.
 Gell, James, High-Bailiff of Castletown.
 Gell, John, H.K., Kennan, German.
 Gell, Evan, H.K., Whitehouse, Michael.
 Gell, William, Douglas.
 Gelling, Fred. L., Advocate, Castletown.
 Gelling, Richard, Douglas.
 Gelling, Jas. Geo., *Treasurer*, Douglas.
 Gelling, Miss, St. John's Wood, London.
 Gelling, Rev. John, M.A., St. Catherine's Cree, London.
 Gelling, Daniel, 41, Catherine-street, Liverpool.
 Gill, Rev. Wm., Vicar of Malew.
 Gill, Rev. Wm., Incumbent of St. John's, Fitzroy Square, London.
 Gill, Henry C., Advocate, Castletown.
 Goldsmith, John, Douglas.
 Graham, Rev. Rich., A.B., Norwich.
 Graves, Henry, Peel.
 Green, Mrs., Rockmount, German.
 Hanna, Rev. Dr., Edenburgh.
 Harris, Samuel, Sumner-General, Marathion, Douglas.
 Harrison, Rev. J. E., (the late) Jurby.
 Harrison, Rev. Bowyer, Vicar of Maughold.
 Harrison, William, H.K., Rockmount, German.
 Harrison, Joseph Ridgway, Ballaclirink, Malew.
 Harrison, Ridgway, H.K., Woodside House Douglas.
 Harrison, J. C. T., Advocate, Ballaughton, Braddan.
 Harrison, J. Paul, Ballavarran, Jurby.
 Haslam, William, H.K., Ballaglass, Maughold.
 Holmes, Rev. Arch., Vicar of Patrick.
 Hope, The Hon. Charles, Lieut.-Governor, *President*, Isle of Man.
 Howard, Rev. Thomas, Rector of Ballaugh.
 Howard, Rev. John, Vicar of Conchan.
 Howard, Rev. W. W., M.A., H.M.'s Inspector of Schools.
 Hume, Rev. Abraham, D.C.L., L.L.D., F.S.A., Liverpool.
 Jeffcott, John M., H.K., Castletown.
 Jefferson, Joseph, Beinabague, Conchan, *Treasurer*.
 Jefferson, John, Derby Square, Douglas.
 Jefferson, George, Liverpool.
 Johnson, R. H., Douglas.
 Kayll, John Jas., The Green, Sunderland.
 Keeble, Rev. J., Hursley, near Winchester.
 Kelly, Mrs. Gordon, London.
 Kermode, Rev. Wm., St. Paul's, Ramsey.
 Kermode, Robert Quayle, Mona Vale, Tasmania.
 Kewley, James, Rolls Office, Castletown.
 Killey, Philip, H.K., Balla-willey-killey, Marown.
 King, Frederiek, Falcon Cliffe, Douglas.
 Kneale, William, Douglas.
 Knapp, Mrs. John, Edinburgh.
 Laee, Francis John, Stone Gappe, Yorkshire.
 Lamothe, F. J. D., H.K., Ramsey.
 Langhton, Alfred N., Advocate, Douglas.
 Lann, Henri Van, King William's College, Castletown.
 Law Library, Castletown, Isle of Man.
 Leach, Frederick, Ramsey.
 Lemon, Alfred D., Douglas.
 Lewin, D. Duncan, Douglas.
 Lloyd, Alexr. E., Dartmouth, Devonshire.
 Lloyd, Robert, Oakwood, Crayford, Kent.
 Lumsden, William, Glenaspet, Patrick.
 MacGuffog, Mrs., (the late) Douglas.
 MacIntehin, Rev. M. Wilks.
 MacKenzie, Rev. Wm., Strathallan Park, *Honorary Secretary*.
 MacKenzie, John Ord, Manchester.
 Mackinnon, John, Cairnbro, Coathridge.
 Mackinnon, Peter, Rose-hall, W. Coathridge.
 MacMullin, J. A., Douglas.
 Matthews, Francis, H.K., Glyn Moore, German.

- Moore, Joseph C., The Ven., Archdeacon of Sodor and Man.
 Moore, R. J., H.K., High-Bailiff of Peel.
 Moore, William F., H.K., Croukbourne, Braddan.
 Moore, Edward, 2, Derby Square, Douglas.
 Moore, William Stevenson, Lhergydhoo, German.
 Moor, Rev. John Frewen, M.A., Bath.
 Murray, Capt. H., R.A., H.K., Thornton.
 Murray, Geo. Moore, Mexico.
 Mylrea, John, Douglas.
- Napier, John, Glasgow.
 Nelson, Samuel C., Douglas.
 Noble, H. B., Derby Square, Douglas.
 North Leith Free Church Library, Scotland.
- Ogden, C. R., H.M.'s Attorney-General for the Isle of Man.
 Oliver, John R., M.A., M.D., London.
 Ormsby, Rev. W. A., Rector of Smallburgh, Norwich.
 Oswald, H. R., F.S.A., Douglas.
- Philpot, Rev. Benjamin, M.A., F.G.S., (late Archdeacon of the Isle of Man,) Rector of Great Cressingham, Norfolk.
 Pole, C. Chandos, Falkner-street, Liverpool.
- Quayle, M. H., Clerk of the Rolls, Castletown.
 Quayle, Robert Tellett, Castletown.
 Quine, James, Douglas.
 Quirk, Richard, R.G., Douglas.
 Quirk, Richard, H.K., Rheaby, Patrick.
 Quirk, Rev. James R., M.A., Attleborough, Parsonage, Warwickshire.
 Quirk, Rev. George, B.A., Rector of Martinthorpe, Rutland, and Curate of Brighthurst, Leicestershire.
- Reeves, L. Buckle, R.M., Douglas.
 Richards, Thomas, Douglas.
 Richardson, Robt., Derby Square, Douglas.
 Robertson, A. S., Aultnaskiah, Inverness.
 Robinson, William, Bolton-le-Moors.
 Rogers, Alfred S., Manchester.
 Rogerson, Thos., Ballanillaghyn, Braddau.
- Rowe, Richard, Laxey Glen, Lonan.
 Sayle, William, Douglas.
 Sherwood, Richard, Advocate, Douglas.
 Shimmie, John, Liverpool.
 Simpson, Rev. S., St. Thomas, Douglas.
 Skottowe, William, Kilkenny, Braddan.
 Skrimshire, F. C., Agent to H.M.'s Woods and Forests, Isle of Man.
 Smith, Henry, Bankfield, Ulverston.
 Sodor and Man, The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, Bishop's Court.
 Spittall, Alex., H.K., Laureston, near Douglas.
 Spittall, Andrew, M.D., Coldstream Guards.
 Spittall, James, Sunny Side, Douglas.
 Stanley, Right Hon. Lord, H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, Knowsley.
 Steel, Alex., Ph.D., Crescent, Douglas.
 Stephen, Decinster, (a Donation) Ramsey.
 Sterling, Wm., M.P., Keir.
 Stewart, H. Dunn, Tonderghie, Whithorn.
 Stowell, Rev. Hugh, M.A., Canon of Chester, Salford.
 Stowell, Rev. Hugh A., M.A., The Dhoon, Maughold.
 Stowell, Rev. John L., M.A., Vicar of German.
 Stuart, Alex. Charles, Eaglescarnie, Haddingtonshire.
- Taubman, J. S. Goldie, H.K., The Nunery, Douglas.
 Thomas, Miss, Ballacossuahan.
 Tootal, Thomas, Douglas.
 Torrance, Gaviu, (the late) Douglas.
 Torrance, Gilbert, Douglas.
 Tyrell, Mrs. Ifracombe, Devonshire.
- Underwood, Thomas, M.D., Castletown.
- Watts, Henry B., Advocate, Douglas.
 Weatherall, Rev. Robert, Elton Rectory, Nottingham.
 Wilks, Miss, Douglas.
 Wilson, Senhouse, High-Bailiff of Douglas.
 Woodhouse, John, Bolton-le-Moors.
 Woods, George, Aigburth.
- York, His Grace the Archbishop of.

The Honorary Secretaries request that any change of Address may be communicated to them.

MANX SOCIETY.

WORKS SUGGESTED FOR PUBLICATION.

1. Survey of the Isle of Man, by William Sacheverell, Governor from 1692 to 1696, published in 1702; with an account of his Voyage to I-Columb-Kill (now called Iona) in 1688. (In the press.) Revised, and edited by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A., F.G.S., Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham.
2. A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, digested into Six Chapters, &c. By James Chaloner, Governor. With the plates. 1656.
3. Bishop Mryryk's Brief Sketch of the Isle of Man, and Chronicles of Man, published in Camden's Britannia. Prior to 1695.
4. History and Description of the Isle of Man, by Geo. Waldron. From the folio edition of 1731.
5. A Bibliographical Account of what has been Published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, Maps, and Local Matters of the Isle of Man. By William Harrison.
6. Abstract of the Manx Laws, by Deemster Parr, in MS., supposed to be written between 1696 and 1702.
7. A Volume of Poems, selected from the various Works relating to the Isle of Man.
8. Selections from the most Popular Rhymes, Proverbs, Sayings, Prophecies, &c., peculiar to the Isle of Man and the Manx People.
9. A MS. History of the Isle of Man, from A.D. 1000 to 1805. Written by the late Rev. Wm. Fitzimmons, Episcopal Minister of Carrubber's Closo, Edinburgh, and a native of this Island.
10. Selections from the Life of Thomas Wilson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man; from Compilations from his Biographers, and from subsequent Authentic Documents and Letters, kindly placed at the disposal of the Society.
11. Memoirs of his Successor, Mark Hildesley, D.D., Master of Sherbourne Hospital, and Prebend of Lincoln (under whose auspices the Holy Scriptures were translated into the Manx language); by the Rev. Weedon Butler. 1799. With Selections from the Appendix, containing many interesting Letters to and from

his Clergy, &c.; together with additional Correspondence, not inserted therein, of a Local Character.

12. Manx Grammar, by the Rev. John Kelly, LL.D., 1804 (a native of this Island), of St. John's College, Cam., Vicar of Ardleigh, in Essex, and Tutor of the last Duke of Gordon. Revised and edited by the Rev. Wm. Gill, Vicar of Malow. (In the press)

13. A MS., in two vols., 4to., by the same author, of a Vocabulary, or Dictionary, of the Manx Language.

14. A MS. Triglott Dictionary, by the same author, containing a Vocabulary of the English, Manx, Irish, and Gaelic Languages. It is hoped that assistance from other Societies (including the Welch) will be obtained for the furtherance and extension of this valuable work.

15. Collections from the unpublished Documents of what may be interesting and important out of the Insular Archives of the Rolls and Seneschal's Offices, the Episcopal and Parochial Registries, and other Public and Private Records of the Island.

16. Monumenta de Insula de Man: or the History of the Isle of Man, from Cæsar to the Present Time. By J. R. Oliver, M.D.

17. The Acts of Sir John Stanley, King of Man and the Isles, A.D. 1414-1432. By the Rev. W. Mackenzie, Hon. Sec.

18. A Paper on the Arms and Regalities of the Isle of Man. By H. R. Oswald, F.S.A.

19. Manx Miscellanies, Vol. I., containing—Biographical Notices of the Kings, Governors, Bishops, Deemsters, Keys, and other Officials, from the Earliest Times, Chronologically Arranged.—Commission from Edw. I. to hear Complaints in the Isle of Man (printed in the Rev. J. G. Cumming's Story of Castle Rushen); 1292.—Proceedings respecting Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire; 1399.—Proceedings respecting the Abbey of Rushen; 1541.—Grant of Abbey Lands; 1610.—Lord Manchester's Decree respecting Abbey Lands; 1632.—Lord Derby's Letter to his son, 1648.—Appeal allowed from the Bishop to York, and Proceedings thereon.—Order of Procession at Tynwald; 1735-1770.—Nomination of Derby Fort; 1645. Lord Derby's Letter to apply Money to build the Chapel of Castletown.—A Grant from Henry, Earl of Derby, dated at Latham, 1593, with a confirmation of the same signed by Thomas (Merryke) Sodor de Man, 1603,—a curious document, worth lithographing.—Dialogue (in rhyme) at the Falls near Suafeld, between some Peasants, inhabitants of the Back Settlements of Mona, upon an expected introduction of English Laws and Taxes, penned as the words were spoken, and translated by Jenken McMannan, a Lover of the Old Establishment.—A MS. Account of the Island, dated 1775.

20. Tabular Statement of the Archdeacons, Rectors, Vicars, and Incumbents of the several Parishes and Districts of Man; with the Dates of their Inductions; in whose Presentation—whether in the Gift of the Crown or Bishop; and Cause of Vacancy.

21. A Letter, relative to the History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man, by James, Earl of Derby, to his Son (in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, fol., 1732).

22. *Memoirs of the House of Stanley*. By John Seacome. 1741.

23. *Manx Miscellanies*, Vol. II., containing—Matters relating to William Christian (Illiam Dhone); Judgment of the King in Council, ordered to be printed, in folio, 1663, 14th August.—Historical Notices of Edward and William Christian, by the late Col. Wilkes.—Portrait of William Christian; Hango Hill, Place of Execution; General Evidence in the Rolls Office; Genealogical Sketch of his Family.—A Full and Interesting Account of the Embarkation of James, 2nd Duke of Atholl, and Suite (Names given), at Liverpool, on the 9th June, 1735, to take Possession of his newly-acquired Territories in Man. MS. of the Manners, Customs, and Superstitions of the Islanders.

24. *Chronicon Manniæ*: a Chronicle of the Kings of Man, supposed to be written by the Monks of Rushen Abbey. From Speed's *History of Man*, 1610; also in Johnstone's *Antiquitates Celto-Normanniæ*, and other sources.

25. A MS. written in 1648 (never before published), supposed to be written by Mr. Blundell, of Crosby, Lancashire. (The original MS. presumed to be in the possession of Mark Hildesley Quayle, Esq., Clerk of the Rolls.)

26. *Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man*.

27. Pages 276 to 296 of Worsaae's *Danes and Northmen*.

28. Royal Commissioners' Report, 1792 (with scarce Appendix).

FIRST REPORT

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE MANX SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 1ST OF MAY, 1859.

The Council consider it necessary in their first Report to advert to the formation of the Society.

In the proposal which was issued, it was stated that, provided one hundred names were obtained the Society should be considered as formed: this was in a short time accomplished, and the first general meeting for the election of the Council and the adoption of Rules took place on the 26th March, 1858.

The Society now numbers 236 members, and it will be seen from the Treasurer's Report that all the Subscriptions for the first year have been paid with the exception of 25, and these consist chiefly of members resident at a distance, and may reasonably be calculated on prior to the issue of the first Volume. To meet this, and in order to provide for the probable increase of members, when the objects of the Society become to be better known, and as the Society's Publications are not intended for general sale, the Council have determined that the first Volume should extend to Three Hundred Copies.

The Council would next refer to the first Publication of the Society, "A Short Survey of the Isle of Man, by William Sacheverell, Esq., late Governor of Man, 1702," edited by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A., Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham. This Volume the Council had every reason to expect would have been in the hands of the members some time ago, but the delay occasioned by the want of more postal communication with the Island, has been one main cause for its non-appearance, it may confidently be expected to be delivered to the members during the present month of May, or early in June, and the Council have no doubt that the members will feel quite satisfied with the care and attention which the learned Editor has bestowed upon the work, thereby compensating in some measure for the delay.

The second publication for the first year, and which is in the hands of the printer, is "A practical Grammar of the ancient Gaelic, or language of the Isle of Man, usually called Manks, by the Rev. John Kolly, L.L.D., 1804," Revised and

Edited by the Rev. William Gill, Vicar of Malew. This Grammar is now of great rarity, and it is hoped will be acceptable to the members: Mrs. G. Kelly, the widow of the only son of the late Dr. Kelly, has most liberally placed at the disposal of the Council the sum of £15 towards the expense of printing this Grammar, and they expect it will, in a short time, be in the hands of the members. This work, although not a readable one, will, as a Book of Reference to the native scholar and the philologist, the Council feel satisfied, be admitted an important and valuable contribution to this Society's publications, and as a monument of the original language now fast falling into disuse.

Some delay, such as is always consequent upon first operations and arrangements of this nature had occurred, as well as from the desire of the Council to make the best selection from the materials that might be brought before them, but in future this delay will not occur, and they trust that three Works will hereafter be regularly published within the twelve months.

The other Works which are in progress with a view to more immediate publication for the use of the Society are—

1. *Monumenta de Insulæ de Man*; or, the History of the Isle of Man, from Cæsar to the present time. By J. R. Oliver, M.D.
2. The Acts of Sir John Stanley, King of Man and the Isles, A.D. 1414—1432. By the Rev. W. Mackenzie, Honorary Secretary.
3. A Paper on the Arms and Regalities of the Isle of Man. By H. R. Oswald, Esq., F.S.A.
4. A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, Maps, and Local Matters of the Isle of Man. By William Harrison, Esq., H.K.
5. History and Description of the Isle of Man. By George Waldron, 1731.

The Council have to regret the death of the Rev. J. E. Harrison, Vicar of Jurby, the loss of whose valuable aid in the elucidation of the History and Traditions of the Island, they have now to deplore, but they have every reason to hope that his valuable contributions to this subject will be forthcoming from his representative, William Callister, Esq., of Ramsey.

To carry out the objects of this Society, the Council deem it highly essential that every member thereof should come forward (individually and collectively) with such information and documents as they may possess, in order to aid in the selection and editing of works, and beg to call their attention to the List of Works suggested for Publication, appended to the first Volume.

The Council cannot conclude their Report without expressing the great obligation which they consider the members are under, to the Honorary Secretaries, Paul Bridson, Esq., and the Rev. William Mackenzie, for their persevering exertions for the interest and success of "The Manx Society;" also, to Dr. Oliver, for the use of the rooms in which the Society's meetings are held.

Read and adopted at the Annual General Meeting.

HENRY MURRAY, Chairman.

Douglas, May 3rd, 1859.

Dr. JAMES GEO. GELLING (ACTING TREASURER) IN ACCOUNT WITH THE MANX SOCIETY, 1858-59. Cr.

1855.		1858.		1859.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To 209 Annual Subscriptions received	209 0 0	October 8.—By Mrs. Quiggin—Circulars, monthly meetings. ...	0 7 0		
To 2 Subscriptions for the year—1859-60, paid in advance	2 0 0				
To difference between Pounds due and Guineas paid	0 7 0	Jan. 25.—“ Miller and Fairly for advertising the Manx Society in the <i>Edinburgh Witness</i>	0 7 6		
Subscription of a deceased member overpaid (liable to be recalled)... ..	1 0 0	Feb. 18.—“ Robert Fargher—printing 700 Prospectuses, Circulars, and Advertising.	6 7 11		
To Mrs. Gordon Kelly—donation towards republishing the Manx Grammar (in the Press)	15 0 0	Mar. 19.—“ Mrs. Cupleoy—on account of 1st Publication—“ Saeheverell’s Survey”	10 0 0		
To Interest allowed by Bankers to December 31, 1858... ..	1 0 9	April 26.—“ Ditto—for Advertising, printing 150 Letters of Queries, and 250 Circulars, Notices of Subscriptions due	2 0 0		
		“ R. H. Johnson—4 Receipt Books, 14s. and Advertising, 4s. 6d.	0 18 6		
		“ John Mylrea—Index and Circulars	0 5 2		
		“ Expenses incurred by Hon. Secs. for Stationery and Postages, including Stamped Envelopes, and Sundries, as per Treasurer’s Book	5 10 8		
		“ Ditto—per Treasurer	0 9 6		
		April 30.—“ Balance in the Bank and Treasurer’s hands... ..	202 1 6		
				£228 7 9	
May 3, 1859.—To Balance	£202 1 6				

Errors excepted.

JAMES G. GELLING, Treasurer.

May 3.—Audited by { THOMAS GARRETT.
D. DUNCAN LEWIN.

DOUGLAS:

PRINTED BY H. CURPHEX, SUN OFFICE, KING STREET.

7

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MANX SOCIETY.

IMPEDIMENTS incident to the commencement of such undertakings having considerably delayed the appearance of this the First Volume, it may be desirable to inform the Members that before the next annual meeting the books for the year 1859 will be in their hands; and that in future, there is every reason to believe, the three volumes annually promised to the Subscribers will appear within the year; for which the Council trust they shall have the continued support of the present Members of this Society, as well as their friends, upon whom they would urge the necessity of making their proceedings more generally known, so as to secure for them a still larger share of general patronage.

The Subscriptions of one pound become due in advance on the First of May of each year, and may be paid to the Treasurer, Mr. J. G. GELLING, Market-place, or transmitted to the Honorary Secretary, Mr. PAUL BRIDSON, 29, Atholl-street, Douglas, to whom Members are respectfully requested to acknowledge their Copies when received.

Douglas, 7th June.



